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A PRIVATEER'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

by

CAPT. GEORGE SHELVOCKE

WITH ASPERSIONS UPON HIM BY
WILLIAM BETAGH

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PREFACE

'THE idea of shooting an albatross was mine,' said Wordsworth, in a discussion on the *Ancient Mariner*, 'for I had been reading Shelvocke's *Voyages*, which probably Coleridge never saw.' As the source of this incident in the poem, the book has come to have a vaguely familiar name, but otherwise it remains in its obscurity. Few, however, among the true stories of the sea, can rival it in psychological interest. The author had been accused of successful conspiracies to defraud the owners of his ship and his main object in writing was to clear his reputation : a secondary motive was to discredit the man who had caused his arrest by giving information of his dishonest practices. This was William Betagh, who had commanded the force of marines engaged to help his 'private ship of war' in its raids on hostile commerce.

Shelvocke brought out his apology in 1726, in the form of a general account of his voyage, putting the best construction on his own conduct and including some virulent attacks on Betagh's character. Two years later Betagh published a reply, in which he gave his own version of the actions which his captain had glossed over, and corrected other 'blunderrata.' In 1757 Shelvocke's book was reissued by his son, George, who had sailed with him in the capacity of supercargo (or captain's spy, as Betagh declares, with an obvious loathing for him) ; in latter days, as a worthy official of the General Post Office, he found it advisable to revise the text in the interests of decorum, hoping to force respectability on his dead parent. But

he made no attempt to answer Betagh's accusations. These were not examined in detail till 1928, when the *Voyage* appeared in an authoritative edition by W. G. Perrin; he could produce nothing further in Shelvocke's favour.

Since the diverse villainies of captain and crew cannot all be appreciated from Shelvocke's narrative, the present volume includes the most significant passages of Betagh's work, and of a journal quoted by him. These extracts, now reprinted for the first time, form the bulk of the existing evidence for Shelvocke's misdoings. The remainder of the volume is abridged from his own text of 1726, and contains the narrative sections practically in their entirety in addition to a few other portions of the book. It should be explained that the author followed the custom of his age in describing the harbours and resources of places, too often plagiarising from earlier adventurers; as a rule he keeps strictly to business matters, and passages of this character have then been omitted. Sometimes, however, he strays into discourses of general interest, which have of course been retained; especially comprehensive are the two longest of his descriptions, which deal with the island of Juan Fernandez and the peninsula of Lower California. The former, strangely enough, does not mention Alexander Selkirk, who had been rescued by another English privateer eleven years before Shelvocke's shipwreck on the island; his silence is not due to ignorance, since the owners had supplied him with the narrative of that voyage, but probably means that no trace of Selkirk's activity remained.

In accordance with the usual practice of the Travellers' Library, certain rules of old typography have been aban-

doned—the use of an initial capital in all nouns, of italic type for proper names, and of an apostrophe in the past tense, but any peculiarities in the original spelling or punctuation have been preserved, if they are due to the writer's personal choice.

A PRIVATEER'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

A PRIVATEER'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE

By William Betagh

In the year 1718, during the war between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties, and while a rupture was daily expected between Great Britain and Spain ; some persons of distinction, and merchants of the city of London agreed upon a subscription, to fit out two private ships of war, under the Emperor's commission, to cruise upon the Spaniards in the South Seas. The chief motives for such an expedition were the desire of being better acquainted with the navigation of that part of the world, to put their sea-faring friends into a promising imployment, and the many views they had of a prosperous return from so well concerted an undertaking. But tho the said breach between Great Britain and Spain was known to be unavoidable, yet, upon the delay of actual hostilities, the aforesaid gentlemen were desirous to take the advantage of the war between the Emperor and the King of Spain : and in order to have their ships in the South Sea before the season was far advanced, they obtained his Imperial Majesty's commission, and mand their ships with a good number of his subjects. They named their first ship the *Prince Eugene*, and the other the *Starenberg*. Of this armament George Shelvocke was appointed to be commander in chief, who had sometime served as a lieutenant in the British navy. Whereupon he was forthwith ordered to Ostend, there to receive the

Flemish officers, the seamen and commission aboard the *Starenberg*: and among other things, received orders not to fire any guns, or hoist any colours, while in that port; and to take aboard no more than sixty Flemings, with three officers; and when he had got his men, wine, and brandy, to procede directly to the Downs.

In the mean time the *Prince Eugene* arrived in the Downs, having been fitted and manned in the river. Three of the owners went to Deal, expecting to meet with both the ships; but were uneasy to find Captain Shelvocke was not yet come. However upon his arrival, they inquired into the cause of his delay, and were surprised to find he had idly neglected joining his consort as early as he ought; had broke thro' his orders, made entertainments, hoisted Imperial colours, brought over ninety Flemings and six officers, fired away five barrels of powder, began upon his wine and brandy which the owners had put aboard him, and was designed as the whole stock for both ships, to comfort them in their long and hazardous voyage. And in short so ill did he behave, as to bring his owners to change the command, and in his room appoint John Clipperton captain of the larger ship, and commander in chief, who had made two voyages to the South Sea before. Besides, the Flemings were so many in number, and so ill chosen, that the British seamen grew uneasy. The former having their own officers, seemed to over-value themselves upon their sovereign's commission, which was not relished by the Englishmen. It occasioned a mixed command, and produced frequent animosities; so that it was judged impracticable for them to go the voyage together. At length the war being begun between Great Britain and Spain in the Mediterranean, the owners agreed to get his Majesty

King George's commission, and to send over the foreign commission, men and officers to Flanders, paying their charges, and allowing two months wages to the men. After which the owners ordered their ships, being now called the *Success* and *Speedwel*, to Plymouth, to be there recruited in their provision, and get their complement of men.

Clipperton being thus appointed commander in chief, had also the biggest ship, the *Success*, of thirty six guns and 180 men. Shelvocke had the *Speedwel*, twenty four guns, and one hundred and six men, under whose command I was appointed captain of marines. The ships lay near three months at Plymouth for a wind ; in which time Shelvocke continually shewed his resentment at the change of command, in such a manner that there was a faction fermented from the captains to the cabin boys. And tho' he did endeavour to curb his restless spirit, yet was it so publickly apparent, that one of the owners, who was chief director of this affair, wrote to him to mind him of his conduct, and warn him of his duty : to which very man this Shelvocke owes his having the *Speedwel*, being the second command in this undertaking.

CHAPTER I

OUR PASSAGE OF THE ATLANTICK SEA

On the 13th of *February* 1718-9 we sailed from Plymouth, in company with the *Success* of 36 guns, Capt. John Clipperton Commander, who in consideration of his knowledge of the coasts and customs of Chili, Peru and Mexico, was to act as Chief of the Expedition.

On *Sunday*, the 15th of *February* 1718-9. I came under the *Success's* lee, and complained of the crankness of my ship, which proceeded from our having too much weight aloft, and therefore desired Capt. Clipperton to send for his wine and brandy, which I had on board, that I might have room to strike down some of my guns into the hold, which being done I did not doubt but that I should be able to hold him way. But this he entirely neglected ; by which means he lost his stock of liquors, for we were a night or two after separated by a violent storm, so that we never saw any thing of one another till about two years afterwards. We kept company together no longer than till *Thursday*, the 19th of *February* 1718-9, when between 9 and 10 o'clock at night there came on a very violent storm of wind at S.W. which obliged us to take in our topsails. The gale encreasing upon us, and being very much pressed, I hauled up my foresail under the *Success's* lee, upon which they made a signal for bringing to. By 11 of the clock we were under bare poles, with our yards *a portland*, not being able to suffer one knot of canvas all night, except for a very little while a reefed mizen. About midnight a sea struck us upon the quarter, and drove in one of our quarter and one of our stern dead lights, where we shipped great quantities

of water before we were able to stop them again : and were for a considerable time under continual apprehensions of foundering. This accident exposed us to the greatest danger. We were not able to get the ship before the wind, nor could we work the pumps upon deck, the lee one being all the time under water ; and besides this, had a succession of prodigious seas driving over us, so that none could stand on their legs. In these melancholy straits the chain pump was the only thing we could have recourse to, by means of which it pleased God that we were delivered from impending destruction. When I mention this, I must observe, that it is uncommon for ships not exceeding two hundred tun to have them, and that I was very much blamed for the charge of it. In short, a seaman can judge what a condition we were in, in a ship of not above 200 tuns burthen, with 18 six pounders mounted between decks, and a large launch, which rowed with 14 oars, under our hatches, besides 101 men, four fifths of which were land men,[1] and crouded with provisions for so long a voyage. But all the damage we sustained by this bad weather was the spoiling of about 1000 weight of bread, and one barrel of powder which the water came at.

20th of *February* 1718-9. We had no sight of the *Success* or any other vessel ; at noon we set the mainsail double reefed, at midnight set the topsails, and stood to the N.W. In the morning the helm coat was washed away, which was not secured again without much difficulty.

This storm so terrified the greatest part of my ship's company, that I was informed that 70 of them were resolved upon bearing away for England, and that they had formed a complaint against the ship ; for they alleged that she was so

[1] Not seamen but marines.

very crank, that she would never be able to carry us to the South Seas. But on the 23rd, before this came to me, having perceived some discontent amongst them, I ordered them all to come on the deck, and used what arguments I was master of, to encourage them to proceed ; I told them, ' if the ship was tender,[1] it was caused by her being pestered ' so much aloft, but that as we were incumbered only with ' provisions, we should in a little time eat and drink her ' into a better trim ; that having through providence ' escaped a most violent tempest, a small spirt of wind ' would now run us into fair weather ; that I would take all ' opportunities of repairing the defects we were so sensible ' of in the late hard gale of wind, by filling up our quarter ' and great cabin lights (which were very large and low) ' with firm plank ; and having no awning, I promised to ' provide some shelter for them overhead.' I at the same time assured them, ' that, to my own knowledge, our ' bottom was thoroughly refitted, and in a perfect good ' condition ; and I also reminded them of the scheme of ' the voyage, which formerly they were so well pleased ' with, which promised, (I might almost say) a certain ' recompence for all the difficulties we might encounter.' But all I could say was but to little purpose ; for they continued in their resolution of clapping the helm a weather,[2] and grew to that height of insolence at last, that I was obliged to have recourse to my officers, for their assistance in bringing the male-contents to reason. And to that purpose most of them appeared armed. The sight of which so startled the mutineers, that they soon dispersed themselves ; and having ordered that two of them should

[1] Leaned over too far under sail-pressure.
[2] To sail home before the wind.

be made fast to the geers, to receive such punishment as they deserved, I was prevented from executing my design by some of the rest, who came in a very submissive manner, and begged that I would be pleased to pardon them, which I did, upon their promise that for the future they would behave themselves very obediently. A little after this, finding them in a tolerable disposition, and seemingly inclined to be tractable, I ordered some brandy to be brought up, and they drank to our prosperous voyage, &c. and I found that the dram being once or twice repeated, proved the best means of entirely oversetting their wicked intentions, and we went on quietly; except the evening following, viz. 24th of *February*, Simon Hatley, second Captain, instead of contributing (as he ought) all that was in his power to settle and confirm us in the quiet, we at that time enjoyed, had like to have brought us into an irrecoverable confusion. For through the excess of his indiscretion and self-conceit, he took an opportunity of disputing the command of the ship with me, telling me upon deck, before most of the ship's company, that he had private orders from one of the chief of the Gentlemen adventurers, and Capt. Clipperton, to take the charge of the ship upon him, (I had reason to believe he spake truth as to the latter.) I asked him, if he had a private commission too, to which he returned nothing but expressions full of contempt of the commission, making it appear as a thing of hardly any validity or consequence, and alledged that it was but just he should command, being the only person that had any knowledge of the South Seas, whither we were now going, &c. How far this might have prevailed amongst the people who had begun one mutiny by themselves, and were probably ripe for another, especially when headed by so

considerable an officer, I can't say, had not his unseamanlike behaviour in the late storm rendered him ridiculous, and apparently unfit for such a charge.

It may be imagined that I was under no small uneasiness when I reflected on my ill success hitherto, in being separated from Capt. Clipperton as before-mentioned, and immediately after that, to find my self among a ship's company, which I could hardly expect any thing from, but trouble and vexation ; and an imprudent officer under me, who might be of much more mischievous consequence, if proper measures were not taken to check him, and keep him within the strictest bounds of his duty. For it was reasonable to conceive, that those who could dare to be so insolent so near our own country, where I might in a day or two have brought them to justice, would not stick at any thing in a remote part, where they might probably have some plausible pretence (however unreasonable) for a continual disobedience.

Thus was I laid under the most absolute necessity of behaving myself with the utmost circumspection and precaution, that I might prevent our being divided into parties, or subject to the caprices and humours of an ungovernable ignorant set of men ; both of which would be equally destructive to the regular and successful proceedings of our expedition.

We had a very tedious passage to our first place of rendezvous, which was the Canary Islands, where we were to cruise ten days for one another. In our way thither we spake with several ships, but could hear nothing of the *Success*.

The 17th of *March* 1719. We arrived at the Canaries, and cruised out the appointed time (according to my

instructions) to meet with Captain Clipperton. During which, little remarkable happened, except that on the 23rd I sent my launch in chase of a small vessel we discovered under the grand Canaries, who perceiving themselves pursued, ran their vessel ashore; and my people, with much difficulty, got her off, tho' she was hardly worth the trouble, being only an open boat of about 16 tunns, and nothing in her but a small quantity of salt, and a quarter cask of wine, the greatest part of which was drank by my boat's crew, before they brought their prize to the ship.

Having finished my cruise, without meeting, or hearing any thing of the *Success*, I found myself in a very melancholy state, when I came to consider, that the next appointed rendezvous was at the Island of Juan Fernandes in the South Seas, and ordered thither by the way of the streights of la Mair,[1] and round Cape Horn, which now I was sensible was a navigation our ship was in no condition of performing, the being without any shelter to cover the people from the snow, and the inclemency of such cold boisterous winds as were to be expected in so southern a climate; and, at the same time, had her stern so disadvantageously fitted to bear the shocks and violence of a tempestuous sea, that we must have been in continual danger of perishing in every hard gale of wind. Therefore for the preservation of the whole, it was indispensably necessary to employ our thoughts on some means to make ourselves as secure as possible by any opportunity we could meet with in our way. But how this was possible to be effected, was the article which gave

[1] Le Maire Strait through Tierra del Fuego, an alternative route to Magellan's.

me much concern, knowing that such materials as we should want to serve our purpose, were very scarce to be met with at such places as we might stop at. On the 29th of *March* we took our departure from Ferro, one of the Canary Islands, in hopes to meet with Captain Clipperton among the Cape de Verd Islands, and took our prize along with us. But in our passage thither my people began again to be discontented, and, in short, murmured among themselves, and grew so troublesome, that I thought I could do no less than to keep the arms out of their reach, which I did by stowing them away in the bread-room.

On *Saturday*, 14th of *April* 1719. In the morning we made the Isle of May, and running along shore saw a wreck, and an English ship's ensign flying near a great smoak on the land, and a small sloop in the bay, near the wreck. As we stood in for information, a boat came off, and told me it was the *Vanzitern East-India-Man*, Capt. Hide, Commander, who had the misfortune of running ashore about 3 weeks before. Upon which I began to think that this might be a good opportunity of supplying myself with such necessaries as we wanted, and therefore asked the mate, if I could have any planks or nails out of the wreck. He told me that the ships in the road to leeward, had got every thing that could be saved out of her. I bore away for the road, but my entrance was opposed by all the ships there, (being about 13 in number) who fired several shot at me, mistaking me for a free booter. But being soon satisfied of what we were, the drunken commodore, with the rest of the masters, came aboard, and asked my pardon, and promised to let me have what I stood in need of. So I came to an anchor; but at last got nothing but 2 or 3 sheathing boards, and about 3 tunns and ½ of salt.

Some time before our arrival here, Turner Stevens (my Gunner) very gravely made a proposal to me, in company with all the officers (as we were drinking together) of cruising in the Red Sea ; for, said he, there can be no harm in robbing those Mahometans : but (continued he) the poor Spaniards, they are good Christians, and it would, doubtless, be a sin to injure them. Upon which I immediately ordered him under confinement : after which he, in a very outrageous manner, threatened oftentimes to blow up the ship. Therefore for these, and many other sufficient reasons, I discharged him at his own request, which I very readily condescended to, and was glad to see every body else as well pleased as myself, at his departure. I also left my chief mate here, at his own desire, he having been guilty of several misdemeanours ; but, particularly, the night after we anchored here, he had the imprudence to quarrel with Mr. Brooks, the first Lieutenant, and to fight with him, which caused no small disturbance on board, for which I corrected him, and was very well satisfied to find him so inclinable to leave us, he having been a very troublesome person.

Wednesday, 18th of *April* 1719. At six in the morning weighed from the Isle of May, and the same morning arrived in the road of Porto Praya on the Island of St. Jago. Here the Capt. Major gave me some hopes of assisting me with such things as I wanted, but day after day deceived me, so that I got nothing but a little fresh provisions. At this place I sold our prize for 150 dollars to the Governour ; filled all our water-casks, &c. and gave my ship a very good heel. Six of my people having deserted from my launch, I applied to the officer ashore, but could not prevail. How-

ever, I thought of a very probable means of recovering them ; for there being a Portuguese ship in the road, I sent to the Captain of her, to tell him that I would have him go ashore in quest of my men (I understood that the Governour detained them) threatening that I would take the like number out of his ship, if he did not bring them off. Accordingly he went, and brought me off two of them, which happened to be the best, being both good seamen, and drummers. They fell on their knees, and asked my pardon, assuring me that Capt. ashore had seduced them, by offering them extraordinary encouragement if they would stay, and sail in his service, it being his design to send the bark, I told him on the *Vanzittern's* wreck, where they might all make their fortunes ; so I lost the other four. Finding that I could neither hear of, or get any thing that might be serviceable to us in this place, I sent an officer in the launch to the town of St. Jago, where the chief Governour resides, to enquire of him, if he had heard of any ship among the other islands, &c. But he sent me word, he had no advice of any, nor was there any thing to be purchased, that might be useful to us, at that town. There being now no probability left of seeing the *Success*, before we got into the South Seas, and not meeting with materials to fit the ship, as I promised, I was even at a stand, not knowing how to proceed with these unruly fellows. But having read in Frezier's Voyage of the Island of St. Catherines, on the coast of Brasil, in the Latitude of 27, 30. So. which, according to his account, afforded every thing we stood in need of, even without any expence, or, at least, in exchange for salt, which is very valuable there ; and this being confirmed to me by one of my officers, who was a Frenchman ; and

this place lying in my passage, it was indisputably advisable to put in there ; for the reasons before alledged, therefore, on *Monday*, 20th of *April* 1719, we sailed from St. Jago, we began to heave up our anchor the day before, but wrenched the drum-head of our capstane, which took us up the remainder of the day to repair it, but we failed the next day.

We had a very long passage, being 21 days e'er we crossed the Æquinoctial. While we were between the two trade winds, we had generally little variable breezes all round the compass, sometimes great squalls of wind and rain, with thunder, lightning, &c, and, in short, the most uncertain weather imaginable. We were 55 days in going to St. Catherines, during which little remarkable happened, except, that on *Thursday*, 4th of *June* 1719, we made cape Frio, bearing West, distant 7 leagues at noon, Latitude *per* observation 23 deg. 41 m. South, and on *Friday* the 5th, in the afternoon, we saw a ship stemming with us, whom we spake with. I ordered the five oared boat to be hoisted out, and sent Capt. Hatley in her, to enquire what news on the coast, and gave him money to buy some tobacco ; for the *Success* had got our stock aboard of that (as well as other things) which created a West country famine amongst us. When Hatley returned, he told me she was a Portuguese from Rio Janeiro, and bound to Pernambuco, that he could get no tobacco, and had, therefore, laid out my money in unnecessary trifles, (*viz.*) *china cups and plates*, *a little hand nest of drawers*, *four or five pieces of china silk*, *sweetmeats*, *bananas*, *plantains and pumpkins*, &c. I gave him to understand that I was not at all pleased with him for squandering away my money in so silly a manner. He answered, 'that ' he thought what he did was for the best, that he had laid

‘ out his own money as well as mine, and, in his opinion, to ‘ a good advantage, and that, to his knowledge, the things ‘ he bought would sell for double the money they cost, at ‘ the next port we were going to.’ However, I assured him I did not like his proceedings by any means.

ACCOUNT OF THE LAST INCIDENTS

By William Betagh

To shew that Shelvocke was well enough pleased to part with his consort, he steered a course quite different from the *Success*, and contrary to his duty; as appears by Taylor's[1] journal. '20th of *February*. These 24 hours fresh 'gales and cloudy with small rain. At two this afternoon, 'the storm being somewhat abated, we wore and made sail, 'steering away fourth and by east.' And continuing his course to the Southward, arrived off the Canaries the sixth of *March* following, which run he made in fourteen days: Whereas Shelvocke p. 4. has it thus. '20th of *February*. 'We had no sight of the *Success* or any other vessel. At 'noon we set the mainsail double reefed, and at midnight 'the topsails, and stood to the north-west,' when it's plain, he might have steered the same course to the southward, but for views of his own went to the northward; and accordingly did not arrive at the Canaries, till he might well judge his consort was gone: For page 9 he owns his arrival there on the 17th of *March*, which is eleven days difference, and with this aggravation, that instead of going to the windward, I well remember we hawled close in under the lee of the said island, being the north-east side thereof; because the winds govern there most part of the year in the south-west board.

The next day after losing company, Shelvocke seeing a piece of a wreck float along the *Speedwell's* side, endeavoured to persuade us, that Clipperton was lost in the storm, alledging, for his reasons, that the *Success* was built very

[1] Chief mate of the *Success*

slight, greater regard being had to her sailing than burdening well, and that her weight of metal had torn her sides out, and so was gone to the bottom. But finding this did not pass with us, he then insisted that she bore away for France or Ireland, to purchase wine or brandy, without which, according to him, nothing at all was to be done: And I own it was very hard to be forced on a long voyage to the southward, when the sun was in his northern course, without either of those chearful supports of nature. But to prove that Clipperton could do his duty without wine and brandy, he like a good officer sailed to the Canaries, being the first place of rendezvous; and cruising there his limited time, proceeded to St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd islands; at one of which places he doubted not of meeting us.

Taylor's journal has it thus,

'*Success*, 15th of *March* 1719. Having cruised ten days 'off the Canaries, without meeting our consort or taking 'any prize, and in little hopes of either, we steer away to 'the Cape de Verd islands. . . .'

He [Shelvocke] well knew this was the next place agreed to meet at, tho' carefully concealed from us; however Taylor's journal confirms it.

'*Success*, 21st of *March*. Fresh gales, &c. At six this 'afternoon we saw St. Vincent, at ten next morning we 'anchored in the bay and found a French merchant ship 'and the *Diamond* of Bristol, captain Cleader, taking in an 'odd sort of cargo for Jamaica, *viz*. asses. This being ap-'pointed the next place of rendezvous, we were in hopes to 'find the *Speedwell*, but are convinced of the contrary, to our 'great surprise, and greater concern for the want of our 'liquors, without the moderate use of which, it's dull 'living either ashore or at sea; so that I cannot help saying

'we all look like the cargo aforementioned, for suffering 'Shelvocke to keep our wine and brandy.'

Now let any indifferent person judge whether 'tis probable that Fernandes could be the next appointed rendezvous from the Canaries, being a run of no less than 120 degrees.

We arrive next at the Isle of May, and are taken for pyrates; Shelvocke gives it the softer name of freebooters. Here I remember we had six silver goblets for our common drinking, and he, like a careful officer, lest they should be lost, calls up the armourer to melt and hammer five of them into circles to adorn the outside of a fine pail, made by the cooper, for the more glorious drinking of *Hipsy*, a liquor compounded of wine, water and brandy, which by the admirers of it, is also called meat, drink and cloth. And now I took leave of a glass of pure wine; for Shelvocke labouring a little with the gout, imagined this compound to be its best antidote, and so we all lived upon it in a wanton manner, till our wine and brandy was exhausted; which, tho' designed for the use of both ships, hardly served us a twelve month.

This also proved a means of dividing us; for those, whom hard drinking did not agree with, he distinguished with a sour morose behaviour, and looked on them as male-contents; so that the quantity of *Hipsy* was the only title to a proportion of merit in our captain's favour.

Taylor's journal gives the following account of the island of St. Vincent, which I thought not improper to insert. 'That it affords but little provision or refreshments of any 'kind, except goats and young asses, which he says are 'good food, their men having eat very freely thereof. 'That it's also but a poor place to wood and water at,

' there being but one small drein ; and that your boats are ' always in danger, from the greatness of the surf.' From hence they took their departure on the 2nd of *April* 1719.

But Shelvocke, who was not in so much haste, got no farther than the island of St. Jago, on the 18th of the same month, where he sold his small prize to the governor for but 80 dollars, tho' he says 150. Then he sends away his kinsman Adams, our Surgeon, to the chief town of this island, to inform himself privately all that he could learn of the *Success* ; and to purchase sugar, without which there was no making *Hipsy*. He returned with the agreeable news of Clipperton's being gone from St. Vincent's, which, however, was concealed from us. And now Shelvocke being past all fears of meeting Clipperton, resolves to put it out of the power of chance to fall in with him any more, by forming a design of wintering at St. Catherine's, on the coast of Brasil : and accordingly, on the 20th of *April*, weighs anchor and sails towards the continent of America.

On the 5th of *June* 1719 we met a Portuguese merchantman near Cape Frio. Our captain ordered the Emperor's colours to be hoisted, which, without any reflection, look the most thief-like of any worn by honest men : those of his Imperial Majesty are a black spread eagle in a yellow field, and those of the pyrates a yellow field and black human skeleton ; which at a small distance are not easily distinguished, especially in light gales of wind. So he brings her to, by firing a musket thwart her forefoot ; sends aboard her the best busker (as he himself called Hatley) with a boat's crew ; each man armed with a cutlass and a case of pistols.

The Portuguese not only imagines his ship made prize, but thinks also how he shall undergo that piece of discipline

used by the merry blades in the West-Indies, called blooding and sweating; which is done by making the captain, on the ill report of his men, or his declining to discover where his money is hid, to run the gantlet naked thro' the pyrate's crew; each of them furnished with a sail-needle, pricking him in the buttocks, back and shoulders; thus bleeding they put him into a sugar cask swarming with cock-roaches, cover him with a blanket, and there leave him to glut the vermin with his blood.

Don Pedro, to save his bacon, took care however to be very officious or yare handed (as we say) with his present: For no sooner was Hatley on his quarter-deck, but the Portuguese seamen began to hand into the boat the fruits and refreshments they had aboard, as plantins, bananas, lemons, oranges, pomgranates, &c. three or four dozen boxes of marmalade and other sweatmeats; some Dutch cheeses, and a large quantity of sugars.——If they had stopped here, it was well enough, and might pass as a present; but after this there came above a dozen pieces of silk, several of which were flowered with gold and silver, worth, at least, three pound a yard, by retale; several dozen of China plates and basins, a small Japan cabinet; not to mention what the men took, who on seeing the Portuguese so brisk at handing their things into the boat, concluded immediately they had as good a right to a present, as any body else. So on board they go, laying hold on what came next to hand: In short, as 'twas all a present, I can't see who could pretend to restrain them. Among other things, Hatley brought the last and handsomest present of all, a purse of 300 moydors.

This convinced Shelvocke he was not deceived in calling Hatley the best busker, that is, an impudent sharp fellow,

(from the Spanish word *buscar*, to look out sharp,) who, perhaps, to reingratiate himself, did the devil's work ; by whose laudable example our boat's crew robbed the man of more than I can pretend to say : but I remember the boat was pretty well laden with one trade or other ; and none of the officers dared so much as peep into her, till all was out.

CHAPTER II

AT THE ISLAND OF ST. CATHERINES, ON THE COAST OF BRAZIL

TUESDAY 23rd of *June*, we got up to the anchoring place at St. Catherines, and found it to answer pretty well, there being timber enough, but must be cut down with our own tools, the Islanders having nothing of that kind among them. The first thing I did was to send the carpenter ashore, with all the people that could be useful to him in felling the trees, and sawing them into plank, and ordered the cooper, and his crew to trim the casks, and fill water. Those that remained aboard I employed in new stowing the hold to make room for our guns, and to come at the meat casks, that we might give them a fresh supply of pickle, whilst others overhauled the rigging and sails, and I continually made all the dispatch I could with such indifferent awkward sailors as I had. Mean while the Captain of the island, and the rest of the inhabitants came off to us every day, with the product of the place, which I purchased with salt as long as I had any to spare.

On *Thursday*, 2nd of *July*. We were disturbed by a large ship, lying at anchor under Parrot's Island, whom we discovered as soon as it was day break, that Island being four or five miles below the place where we lay, I ordered an officer in the launch, well manned and armed, to see (if he could) what she was, with strict orders not to go on board of her on any account whatsoever. In the mean time I had got two of my guns at the watering place, with a sufficient number of men and ammunition to defend what we had there. Which done, I hove apeak on my anchor, and laid

warps to haul into shoal water, if there should have been a necessity for it, and, in all respects, I put my ship into the most advantageous posture of defence. About noon my launch returned, and brought me word that she was the *Ruby*, formerly an English man of war, and now one of Martinet's squadron ; that she was come from the South Seas, and commanded by Mons. la Jonquiere ; that he, his officers, and seamen, were all French, to the number of about 420, and that, though she was actually in the Spanish service, they had not the least design to molest us, having left the South Seas upon the first advice of a rupture between the Crowns of France and Spain. The manner how my Lieutenant came to be so punctually informed of all this, was by a direct breach of the positive injunction I had laid upon him, of not offering to go on board of her. And truly all the excuse he had for his indiscreet proceeding in this affair was, that he was perswaded to it. This, I think, was a mean pretence, and his folly might have cost me very dear ; for had they been enemies, I should have lost 23 of the best hands belonging to me, with all their arms. But their speedy return gave me room to hope there was some truth in the story they had told me. Yet may it not be imagined that it was a vexatious misfortune to me, that I had not (to the best of my knowledge) one man of experience, or capacity enough to perform the duty of an officer ? though, upon a second consideration, I can't tell whether it was an evil or not in the sequel of the voyage, when the ungovernable fellows looked and behaved themselves, as if they only wanted a mischievous head that they could depend upon. The next day, *viz.* 3rd of *July* the *Ruby* turned up towards us, when, not being thoroughly satisfied in my mind, I continued very apprehensive of them. But the

French Captain seeing that I suspected him, having my guns pointed, and every thing in a perfect readiness, he came to an anchor short of us, and sent one of his Lieutenants, and a priest, to assure me of his friendship, and that he did not entertain any thought of doing me the least injury; but that, on the contrary, he should be ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his breast. This message removed all the mistrust I had of him, and I hove to my moorings again. The next day Mons. la Jonquiere sent me an invitation to dine with him, which I did, and met with the most handsome reception imaginable, with offers of what money I would have upon my bill to London, or any thing else that his ship afforded. Among other things he told me, that when he came into the harbour's mouth, he had but 16 guns mounted, but that upon seeing us, he got up the rest, which in all made 54; that he had several wealthy passengers, and that, in short, his ship was extremely rich in gold and silver. He likewise informed me, that the Spaniards had advice of our two ships, and that they talked of fitting out some of their men of war to receive us. I desired that this piece of news might be kept secret, if possible. He replyed, that it should; for that he believed none of his people knew any thing of it, because they had not been ashore for a considerable time before they came out of the country. Upon this occasion I thought it would not be improper to acquaint him, that the disposition of the generality of my ship's company was such, that if they heard of any thing that savoured of great difficulty, I should not have it in my power to make them proceed any farther. To this he was so kind as to answer, that he, and his officers would pay me a visit, and would take an opportunity of giving my officers and people such probable hopes of suc-

cess, that they should not, for the future, be inclined to relinquish the Western coasts of America, to go to any other part of the world.

It was about this time that there was a report spread, that Hatley had taken a bribe of the master of the Portuguese we met on 5th of *June*, (or, as most said, had robbed him of 80 to 100 moidores, and had given 10 to his coxswain, and 6 to each of his boat's crew, not to divulge it.) Upon hearing this I called him to a strict account, charging him with what had been said against him. All that he could say for himself was, that he had done nothing that he was ashamed of, or that he could not justify himself in. Notwithstanding which, I threatened him that I would be very diligent in searching out the truth of it, and that if I found him guilty, I would infallibly deliver him to the Captain of the island. But, in the end, not being able to come at a sufficient proof against him, all I could do (I might as well have said, dared do, for he was become a mighty favourite with the people) was to protest against him, which I did, and gave the protest to Capt. Clipperton in the South-Seas. I must own it to be my opinion, that he was bad enough to act any unhandsome part, especially if one may be allowed to judge of a man by his actions, for, at this place, from our first arrival, he began, and continued to commit such outrages, that I had daily complaints of his abusing their women in the grossest manner ; and further, that he, and a gang that used to go about with him to buy fresh provisions, had threatened to ravish old and young, and set their houses on fire ; nay, and actually burnt one, which the inhabitants had permitted us to use as long as we had occasion for it. These, and such like violences had like to have cost 6 of our

people their lives before we sailed, in the manner as shall be hereafter mentioned.

6th of *July*. Mons. la Jonquiere, according to his promise, came, with several of his officers and passengers to dine with me. But in the height of our mirth, the strangers had a convincing demonstration of the temper of those I had to deal with; for Hudson, my boatswain, took it into his head that he was ill used, and had not the respect that was due to one in his post, because he was not invited in to the cabbin as a guest, he affirming, that though there were so many Lieutenants, and other officers, that were esteemed to be so much superior to him, yet, that in strict justice he ought to be looked on as the third man in the ship, tho', at the same time, neither the master, gunner, nor carpenter were invited. But the boatswain, to shew how much he resented his imaginary ill treatment, was resolved to raise such an uproar as should destroy the gayety and satisfaction that those enjoyed who thought themselves so much above him. This was his way of reasoning; but whether it was the effect of design, or ignorance, may be difficult to determine. However, he was not long in putting his resolution in practice, by the help of two or three more, who began to fancy themselves in his case. The first thing they did was the assaulting of Betagh, the Capt. of Marines, and Mr. Adams, the surgeon. This insolence being carried on in the steeradge, I stept out to see what might be the cause of such a noise; but was surprised at the unparalleled impudence of these fellows, who, when I came to enquire into the reason of this confusion, accosted me with all the sawcy expressions they could think of. But by the help of the rest of my officers, and the French gentlemen, I soon dubbed them into better manners, which was as much as

we could do; for their number was very considerably encreased by some of the petty officers and fore-mast-men. When all was pretty well quieted Mons. la Jonquiere desired he might have liberty to speak a word or two to them. Which done, he told them, that 'as he, and his officers 'were eye-witnesses of their piratical behaviour, if they 'persisted in their disobedience to their Captain, that he 'would see the ring-leaders of them punished at my request, 'by carrying them home in irons.' And as they grew a little calmer, he expostulated with them, by appealing to themselves, whether they did not think it monstrous for any people to behave themselves in such a manner; especially having such a prospect before them; and assured them, that it would be owing to themselves, if they failed of making their fortunes; and desired them to judge of the truth of this by his people, who were full of money, and yet had not half the encouragement (as far as he understood) that they had; and declared to them that he had not a man in his ship, that would not leave all his wages that were due to him, to serve me in this expedition. This speech seemed to please the greatest part of them. However, it was a melancholy reflection to me, that after having been 30 years an officer in the service, under the best regulated discipline in the world, I should be now harrassed with continual mutinies, and exposed to the unthinking malice, and unaccountable humours of my own ship's company. For I must ingenuously profess, I dared not punish them as they deserved; and was certain that some of my chief officers privately approved of their actions, as I afterwards found by their conduct. The next morning I was informed that my people were most of them sorry for what had happened the night before, laying the blame upon the boatswain, and

too much liquor. I was glad to hear this confession, and, therefore, passed it over with only threatening how I would manage them, if ever they were guilty of the like again. I was fully resolved to punish the boatswain in the severest manner ; but was prevailed on not to do it, he coming in a very humble plight, asking my pardon, and begging that I would not use any severity towards him ; for that it was drink that had made him mad, &c. and withal desired I would let him go home in the French ship. This I voluntarily agreed to, he being a very odd sort of a fellow, and always incensing the people against the number of officers, whom he termed *Blood-suckers*.

The 15th of *July*, we saw a great ship plying into the harbour's mouth. But when they discovered us, they made the best of their way out again. This possest Mons. la Jonquiere with apprehensions of her being our consort, which put him in the greatest confusion and hurry to be gone. Accordingly, when night came on he weighed, and fell down the harbour, and went to sea the next morning, and at his departure saluted me with 5 guns. Three Frenchmen belonging to me went away with him. But I had two Frenchmen and one Morphew, an Irishman, in lieu of them. Upon the whole, I can't forbear saying, that Mons. la Jonquiere was very civil and obliging to me, being very ready and willing to assist me with his advice, and notice of the state of affairs in the South-Sea, and with every thing that might be of service to us in any respect.

During this, our carpenter went on but slowly in the woods ; which was attributed to the badness of the saw, and the want of some hands expert at the use of it. But to speak more plainly, they were, in reality, very idle, and there was no driving them faster than they were inclined to

go. For my part, I had no spur that they would be sensible of, but double allowance of brandy, and, after all, they hardly deserved the water they drank. At length, when we came to fill up the stern, and to case it all over with firm thick plank, we could find, to my great astonishment, no nails fit for that use, or hardly any other, no not so much as any for the use of the pumps. Upon which there was no remedy left but to set the armourer to work to make some, which he did by the help of a forge and bellows, which were given me by the Capt. of the *Ruby*. I was now told, that the first carpenter, and his crew, had sold most of the stores before the ship came to Plymouth, which was before I commanded her, so that I never heard of it 'till now.

25th of *July* 1719. We were hindered again by the appearance of a large ship, coming in under French colours. She was called the *Wife Solomon* of St. Malo's, of 40 guns, and about 160 men, commanded by Mons. Dumain Girard, and bound to the coasts of Chile and Peru to trade. She was the same ship we saw coming in before, and had spoke with the *Ruby* at sea. This gentleman abused Mr. la Jonquiere to me in the most scurrilous manner, calling him renegade, for having served under a foreign crown, against his own countrymen; for he being one of Martinet's squadron, their business in the South Seas, was to sweep those coasts clear of the French interlopers, which they did very effectually; for there was not above 2 or 3 out of 12 or 13, that escaped falling into Martinet's hands, who made them all legal prizes. Mr. Frezier was not less obliged to Mons. Dumain, and his officers, for a defamation of his character, in relation to his voyage to the South-Seas, which he published, he often telling me, that he would not have

me trust to his description of the ports, &c. on the coast of Chili and Peru, because, to his knowledge, it was a book full of the grossest errors. However, he might have some politick end in making me entertain an ill opinion of that book, by which means I might have ran myself into many inconveniences ; but I soon perceived, notwithstanding a little forced civility at his first arrival, that he was a designing mercenary man, and endued with all the conceit and vanity so natural to his nation. He pretended to make a stay here of two or three months, for a better season to go about Cape Horn, and, therefore, as soon as he had anchored, he sent some of his people ashore to dig a small garden to sow some lettices, and other sort of sallading. I desired this gentleman to spare me some nails, to which he readily answered he would ; but, at the same time, gave me to understand that they would come very dear, for he could not afford them for less than 32 dollars per hundred, which sum I was glad to give him, since it would have been an endless business for my armourer to have made a sufficient number for the present and future use. I likewise bought of him 60 cheeses, and 300 *l.* of butter, to add to our stock of provisions, so that it happened well for me that I had some money from one of the *Ruby's* people. This being done, I thought myself in a tolerable way of making a very quick dispatch from this place, when there came a letter from my ship's company to me, with articles annexed to it, which they said they were resolved to insist on, and threatened that they would not stir a step to sea, 'till what they demanded was securely agreed upon by me, and the chief officers, according to their desire ; and I think it will not be amiss to insert a copy of the letter and articles as follows,

On board the *Speedwell*,
31st of *July* 1719.

'HONOURED SIR,

'The reason of our troubling you at this time with the 'Articles on the other side, are chiefly these, viz. we have 'very good reason to believe, that if what we shall have the 'fortune to make this voyage, should be carried to London, 'we should never receive half thereof; for it is known to all, 'how the people on board the ships *Duke* and *Duchess*[1] 'were treated, and if we carry our money to London, can 'expect no better treatment. Secondly, That the Articles 'we signed to at Plymouth, were never read in our hearing, 'neither would Mr. Godfrey allow us to read the same. 'He told us they were the same with those on the cabin-'door, though we are now assured of the contrary. One 'thing we saw in them was, that there was three times as 'much writing in them, as in those on the cabin-door, and 'written by several hands, and interlined in a great many 'places, which we don't know the meaning of. And, lastly, 'how dangerous is it for poor men to trust their fortune in 'the hands of rich men?

'By sharing the money as soon as possible, we design 'nothing against the good of the voyage and owners; 'for we shall all do our endeavours to see them get their 'shares, and as to our desiring plunder, we have desired 'nothing but what the people on board the *Duke* and '*Duchess* had before us. We hope you wont take it amiss 'that we have made bold to present you with what we will 'insist upon as our due rights, which is designed for no

[1] English privateers under Capt. Woodes Rogers, whose exploits on the Pacific coast of South America were to be imitated by the present expedition.

'harm to the owners, and to the good of us all, we are sure 'it will make every thing to be easy among us, and it will 'always make us willing to venture our lives in behalf of 'ourselves and owners. You may also be assured of our 'respect towards you. We shall always think ourselves 'happy under such a commander, and we pray that God 'may long preserve you in life and health, and guide you in 'all your actions, which we shall reckon a blessing bestowed 'on us. We are, with all humble respect,

'SIR,

'Your most humble servants,

'Matthew Stewart, Mate.
'James Hopkins, Mate.
'John Sprake, Mate.
'Robert Davenport, Carpenter.
'Gilbert Henderson, Gunner.
'Gilbert Hamilton, Ensign of Marines.
'Nicholas Laming, Boatswain.
'William Morgan, Surgeon's Mate.
'John Doidge, Surgeon's Mate.'

Besides these, all the petty officers, and 36 of the chief foremast men, set their hands to this letter.

Here follows a copy of the articles which they subjoined for the regulation of plunder, *viz.*

Imprimis, *That our part of each prize we take, shall be equally divided, as soon as possible, after the capture thereof, between the ship's company, according to each man's respective shares, as born on the ship's books.*

Secondly, *That all plunder on board each prize we take, shall be equally divided among the ship's company, according to each man's respective shares, as above.*

Thirdly, *That gold rings found in any place, except in a goldsmith's shop, is plunder ; all arms, sea-books and instruments, all cloathing and moveables, usually worn about prisoners (except womens ear-rings, unwrought gold and silver, loose diamonds, pearls and money) all plate in use aboard ships, but not on shore (unless about the persons of prisoners) is plunder ; all manner of cloaths ready made, found on the upper deck, or between decks, belonging to the ship's company and passengers, is plunder also, except what is above limited, and is in bundles or pieces not opened in the country, that appears not for the person's use that owns the chest, but designed for merchandize, which only shall not be plunder ; all manner of bedding, all manner of necessaries, all buttons, buckles, liquors and provisions for our own expending and use, is plunder. It is also agreed, that any sort of wrought silver or gold, crucifixes, gold and silver watches, or any other moveables found about the prisoners, or any wearing apparel of any kind, shall be likewise plunder.*

Fourthly, *That if any person on board the ship do conceal any plunder, exceeding one piece of eight, 24 hours after the capture of the prize, he shall be severely punished, and lose his share of that prize and plunder, one half thereof to be given to the informer, and the other to be equally divided among the ship's company. The same penalty to be inflicted for being drunk in time of action, or disobeying his superior officer's command, or concealing himself in the sea or land service, except when any prize is taken by storm or boarding. Then whatsoever is taken shall be his own, as follows, viz. a sailor or land-man 10 l. an officer below the carpenter 20 l. a mate, gunner, boatswain, and carpenter 40 l. a Lieutenant or master 80 l. and the Captain 100 l.*

Fifthly, *That all plunder shall be appraised and divided, as*

soon as possible, after the capture ; also every person to be sworn and searched, as soon as they come aboard, by such persons as shall be appointed for that purpose. The person or persons refusing, shall forfeit their shares of prize and plunder as above.

Sixthly, *In consideration that Capt. Shelvocke, to make the ship's company easy, has given the whole cabbin-plunder (which, in all probability, is the major part) to be divided as aforesaid, we do voluntarily agree, that he shall have* 5 *per cent. over and above his respective shares, as a consideration of what is his due of the plunder aforesaid.*

Seventhly, *That a reward of* 20 *dollars shall be given to him that first sees a prize of good value, or exceeding* 50 *tons in burthen.*

This is a true verbal copy of the original letter and articles, which I have now by me. And I dare say, no body will doubt it, when they read the needless tautologies, insignificant expressions, incoherency, and dull confusion with which the articles, &c. were drawn up. With which I had not troubled the reader, had I not thought it absolutely necessary to give him a more perfect idea of the transactions which followed.

This was a matter of great weight, and required much consideration ; for, on the one side, I had an obstinate ship's company, who persisted in having what they called their due and lawful rights, and would give ear to nothing that might be objected to them ; and, on the other side, if I endeavoured to make them easy according to their desire, I layed myself open to the malice of some gentlemen at home, who would have thought themselves wronged, and have thrown all the blame upon me, without giving them-

selves time to consider the circumstances of things ; but, at a venture, would vent their unthinking rage on me, who had it not in my power to prevent what followed, though I used all the artifices I was master of, to destroy their project. I found that most of the superiour officers tacitly approved of their measures, particularly Capt. Gatley, who was on Capt. Roger's expedition, and (as I was informed) was the chief person concerned in this affair. It is plain, that the observations in the letter were his, (he having been an officer on board the *Duchess*) to which he added, that he was sure we should get a great deal of money, and that he knew, by woeful experience, how they were used on board the *Duke* and *Duchess*, being paid not one tenth of their due, and that it plainly appeared how a certain gentleman designed to treat them, by his bullying them, and endeavouring to force them from Gravesend before they had received their river pay, and impress[1] money, which was a thing never attempted before, and then to be hurryed to sea, without any knowledge of their voyage, and that he was very well assured it was Capt. Clipperton's design to divide their shares in the country. So by this I found how he came to be such a favourite with the people all at once.

I conceive that, in this case, where my chief officers were cold and indifferent, and did not think it for their interest to assist me in my cause, all I could possibly do was to interpose my authority, and if that failed, nothing remained to check them in their proceeding.

But the more I opposed them, the more they grew impatient, and my delay only served to fix them more firmly in their resolution. In short, they sent one Matthew Stewart to me (whom they had made their agent) who

[1] Advance

brought me the power they had given him to act as such, signed by the whole ship's company, except some of the chief officers.

Having promised this, he told me, that the people had sent him to beg the favour of an answer to their letter, and that they expected a favourable one, being resolved to have their share of what fortune should bless them with, before it came into the owners hands ; with this reserve, that they would always do justice to the gentlemen in England. I replied, that 'I never would submit to any alteration that ' might bear the least likelihood of being prejudicial to the ' Gentlemen adventurers. And farther desired them to ' consider that I, myself, must be a very great sufferer, not ' only in my character, but my fortune too, having given ' very great security for behaving myself according to my ' instructions ; that, for my part, I could not tell what might ' be Capt. Clipperton's intention ; that what he did might ' be warrantable in him (for ought I knew) but that it was ' not in me, and that, doubtless, they should fare as well as ' his people. Therefore I desired they would desist until ' we had joined the *Success* in the South-Seas, and that then ' they would all be blameless.'

But after some few days murmuring and uneasiness amongst themselves, and no work going on, the ship's company came all on the quarter-deck to me, in a mutinous manner, desiring to know my final resolution, saying, that I knew theirs, which was what they would stand by, telling me, that they knew how to provide for themselves without running such certain hazards for uncertain gain, and clamoured in a most outragious manner against Mr. Godfrey, who was our principal agent, and against one of the chief of the gentlemen owners, saying, that they had been well

informed what a pay-master he would make, if their fortunes should fall into his hands, with a thousand scurrilous expressions which astonished me. In short, finding them to be deaf to any thing I could urge against them, and so perversely obstinate in requiring me to comply with them, by signing their articles; and considering the prospect I had of meeting Capt. Clipperton in the South-Seas, when they must be again reduced, and made subject to their first articles, or, at least, under the same restriction with those under his command; and verily believing that the consequence of my refusal in this particular, would be no less than their running away with my ship, and following the old gunner's scheme, it must certainly have been something like; for I could not think of any other way they could have of providing for themselves, as they called it: therefore, upon these considerations, both myself, and all my chief officers, thought it more advisable for the general good to sign, rather than suffer them to proceed in such a piratical manner. As soon as they had gained their point, they expressed a great satisfaction, and promised me, that they would always be ready to hazard their lives on any undertaking that I should think conducive to attain the ends we were fitted out for. However, upon the whole, though it may be called a desperate remedy, when one was not certain what might be the consequence of it, it ought to be looked on as applied to a desperate disease, and as the only means left to prevail on them to go on quietly in our expedition: for the most favourable conjecture that could be made, in case of my not condescending to their request, was that they would have certainly deserted, and have left me, and a few others, here to have ended so promising an undertaking in this port. Which, I dare say, would have been imputed

to me as the greatest indiscretion and imprudence, when so many opportunities might happen in the course of so long a voyage, to oblige them to answer to their first agreement with the gentlemen owners.

If the reader thinks I have dwelt too long on the particulars of this affair, I ask pardon for trespassing so much on his patience. But I promise myself a ready forgiveness, when I assure him that I have been the more exact on this head, not only as I thought it worthy of being fully related, but also to vindicate myself from an aspersion that has been spread, which intimated as if myself had been the promoter of this change. Which, I believe, will appear absurd to any one who will give himself a moment to reflect on it; for who can think that a commander would not exert his power to the utmost, when both his honour and fortune were (in a manner) at stake.

ACCOUNT OF THE LAST INCIDENTS

By William Betagh

At St. Catherine's on the coast of Brazil, our captain shews us a masterpiece of machiavilian politicks ; making by the following stratagem the greatest number of his ships company rogues against their own inclinations : and knowing this could not be suddenly brought about, he had long been preparing for that purpose his instrument, one Mathew Stewart ; who, as his own steward, waited on us in the cabin, till our arrival at the Canary Islands, when and where Shelvocke had promoted him to be first mate of the ship, tho' not seaman enough to distinguish between a brace and a bowline. This was done to gain him greater credit with the men ; tho' it was a direct prejudice to three or four clever young fellows who were good seamen and artists. His accepting a steward's place at first is an undeniable argument he was no seaman.

The weight of my argument depending much on proving Stewart no seaman, the reader I hope will pardon my inserting this account of him. He was the son or apprentice of a shopkeeper at Glasgow in North Britain, and went supercargo of a small ship to Maryland or Virginia. On his return from his first voyage he touched at London, where he squandered away most of his money : so not caring to look his friends in the face, he desired of captain Shelvocke to be imployed in our expedition ; who made him his steward. He was a young man of good sense and good education : so that it's plain if he were qualified for doing the duty of a sea-officer, his ambition would not have suffered him to accept a steward's place : and how fit

this man was for first mate of a private ship of war, I leave other judges than my self to determine. In this article I appeal to Mr. James Moffat and Company, mercers in St. Martins le Grand.

This spark had not been long tampering with the men, before he brought them to any thing he pleased ; especially when they saw he always had the Captain's ear, and was so very much in his favour also ; which gave us all a kind of emulation, wondering what rare qualifications Shelvocke could discover in a fellow, who but a few days before rinsed our glasses and filled us our wine.

But the mystery was here unravelled, on our finding a round robine sent up by the men to Shelvocke, by this minion of his. Robine is a mutinous letter, at the bottom of which every subscriber sets his hand in a round ring, to avoid being called first in the mutiny. The tenor of this letter set forth their diffidence of the gentlemen owners, and their fears of being all cheated : which the fellows before had no notion of, if not prompted to these apprehensions, as I said before, by Shelvocke himself ; who finding all that he had done and said fail of the desired effect, had now made use of this emissary Stewart, to poison the men's minds, when otherwise they would have been quiet at their duty. I need no stronger argument to prove the honest and orderly disposition of the ship's company, than this writer's own words, page 4. who says himself, they were four fifths landmen ; whose first complaint, 'tis well known, is always for want of provisions ; which they, however do in a more submissive manner. But this was quite out of the case ; as what they never could or did complain of. Besides, if the boatswain and his mates were supported in the discharge of their duty, they were sufficient enough to keep them

under. Add to this, that we were nine officers at his table, an unusual number for such a ship, being so designed that we might effectually oppose any intended mutinies : but this despotic man had so intimidated us, that had we offered our service, by promising to assist him in bringing those pretended mutiniers to reason, the very proposal from us would have been construed a real mutiny. And further it may be easily imagined, that no one would have had the confidence to deliver this arbitrary captain any proposal savouring of discontent and mutiny, except a pupil so instructed ; and such was Stewart, whom I might more properly call *quartermaster*, since he officiated as one who had rather been used to the Jamaica discipline, than a well regulated private ship of war.

None therefore but a man void of truth and shame could impute, as Shelvocke does, all his innovations and wilful mismanagements to the mutinies of his men ; when any six of his cabin officers, having the small arms always in our own custody, would have drove the rascals over the fore-castle, without deserving to be recorded as heroes.

In time, new regulations and articles were made and introduced by Stewart, allowing an additional perquisit to Shelvocke himself of 5 per cent. upon the whole capture to be made ; which, after his example, we all signed.

To give the better countenance to this proceding, Shelvocke asked us officers of his mess, whom we would chuse for our agent ? to this not one of them even dared to say a word, waiting his own direction to point out the man : At last I said, that since the whole ship's company, except our selves, had vested such a power in Mr. Stewart, I could see no reason why he might not make one trouble of it, and pay us all our respective shares. To this he answered with a

menacing sneer, ay by god, I suppose you want that preferment your self. I replyed, I was so well satisfied with my own shares, and the imployment given me by the gentlemen at home, that I never coveted or thought of any other. This too gave a great deal of offense. However Shelvocke modestly told us, that unless we chose his own nephew Adams the surgeon, we should make a voyage for a *knife* and *sheath*. It was no sooner said than done, the doctor drew up an instrument immediately, and we were constrained to sign it.

But the merriest agent of all, was Shelvocke himself, who calling the next day to Mr. Hendrie, the gentlemen's agent, told him that he himself would now be agent for the owners, and Hendrie might be purser of the ship, if he pleased : at which arbitrary usurpation, Mr. Hendrie was very much shocked ; well knowing that as agent he had a right to twenty shares ; but as purser, only what Shelvocke was pleased to allow, for as yet we had no such officer mentioned aboard the ship : wherefore seeing the difficulties we lay under, he believed it was in vain to struggle, and only made this gentle return.——Sir, I hope I have done nothing unbecoming my duty, either in my office, or personally to you ; and therefore beg leave to remind you, that those gentlemen who gave you your commission in this ship, made me also their agent for all such captures as she should make : for which Hendrie got no satisfaction, but Shelvocke's adding with an oath, that if he did not accept a purser, he should neither be one nor the other. Whereupon Mr. Hendrie demanded, in his own right, to have a council of the officers called, who should hear and determine the case ; which being absolutely refused, Hendrie drew up a protest against the captain's arbitrary proceedings, a copy

of which he gave into his own hand, and delivered one to each officer of his mess, which is a proof of Hendrie's honest spirit, and that he was worthy of the post the gentlemen gave him.

My reader may possibly question how so much craft, so much treachery, such an abuse of power could meet together in the person of one man : but I here solemnly aver every circumstance of this affair to be true ; and appeal to Mr. Dod's and my own affidavit aforesaid to confirm it.

Nor is it so much to be wondered at, if we consider a commander of a ship in a far distant latitude, with unlimited power, bad views, ill nature and ill principles all concurring. ——I say, it's not to be wondered at whatever such a man does, for he is past all restraint.

A late instance of this kind is Captain Fayne, of Bristol who, in a most extraordinary lingering manner, cruelly starved and tortured his cabin boy to death ; nor could his whole ship's company hinder it, tho' it was long a doing : however, when ashore, the men were freed from that tyrannical power, and were bold enough to speak the truth, which hanged him.

But to return. Thus was Shelvocke's great estate to be got suddenly, without any one in the ship to be a check upon him, or even a witness of the *quantum* or *quomodo*, *how* or *how much* ; for now 'tis evident all must pass through his own and his two creatures hands ; Shelvocke being agent for the owners, his kinsman for us of the cabin, and Stewart agent for the petty officers and men.

CHAPTER III

THE VOYAGE CONTINUED THROUGH TERRA DEL FUEGO

BUT to go on with our voyage, on *Monday*, 3rd of *August*, there came in the *St. Francisco Xavier*, a Portuguese man of war, of 40 guns and 300 men from Lisbon, bound to Macao in China, commanded by Capt. la Riviere, a Frenchman. I made no doubt but that Capt. Hatley's affair would be reported to this gentleman by some of the inhabitants, and, therefore, told him, that I expected he would go and vindicate himself to the Portuguese Captain, to prevent any disturbances, that might arise by the account of his mismanagement on board the Portuguese, which we met at sea. To which he readily replyed, that he would. Therefore to give him an opportunity of doing it, I sent a compliment by him to Mons. la Riviere.

Hatley, at his return, told me, that the Captain did not mention any thing of it, until he spake of it himself, and that the Portuguese Captain told him, that he had heard something of it, and desired to know what the ship was. Hatley described her as well as he could, and informed him of every thing he had out of her. Upon which Mons. la Riviere wished he had met her, and seemed to be angry with him for thinking he could harbour an ill thought of a gentleman who served under so noble and large a Commission, and bound on a voyage, which, to his knowledge, could hardly fail of answering the greatest expectations, and that with honour and reputation. He told him, 'that 'it was very likely that he might receive a gratuity from the 'master of the ship, to prevent his being troublesome.

'But that his Captain's coming immediately into a port of 'the same nation, was a convincing demonstration to him '(besides the meanness of the story) that there could not 'be any publick, or general base design, and that he was 'far from mistrusting there could be any private ones; and 'desired him to give his humble service to me, and tell me 'that he had a great deal of honour and respect for me, and 'begged I would let him have the conveniences I had 'ashore (when I had done with them) if the French Captain 'had not pre-engaged me.'

Thursday, 6th of *August*. Three of my men deserted, and hearing they were entertained by Mons. Dumain, I sent on board his ship to demand them, but they denyed that they were there. Then understanding that they had been seen at our tents, I sent one of my mates in the pinnace to go after them, with orders to go no farther than the tents, but to return without loss of time; for I was heaving up my anchor, with design to fall below the road that night, that I might be in a greater readiness for sailing the next morning. But missing them at the place they were sent to, they thought fit (before they returned on board) to go up to the Portuguese plantations, which were 2 leagues farther. It being towards midnight, the inhabitants were apprehensive it was Hatley, who was come to take his leave of them in the manner he had threatened: however, they suffered my people to go up to their dwellings to search for those they wanted. But my men, finding a different reception from what they used to meet withal, suspected some ill intent against them, and therefore made the best of their way to the boat. In the mean time some of the Portuguese had prepared themselves in ambuscade to destroy them as they returned to the water-side. No sooner had my people

got into the boat, than they heard them rushing out from the woods, crying, *Kill the Dogs*, *Kill all the English Dogs*. This outcry was instantly followed by a volley of small arms, which wounded three of my men, two through the thigh, and another through the arm. After this they discharged several times as the boat was going off, but did no farther damage. The wounded sustained a great loss of blood, by being so long before they got aboard, for they were above 3 leagues distant from the ship : but having an expert surgeon, he performed the several cures with much greater success than could have been hoped for. This unlucky accident obliged me to weigh again the next morning, and return into the road, to try what could be done to punish those who had been concerned in this barbarity. To which purpose I sent a letter of complaint by Hatley to the Captain of the Portuguese man of war. But Hatley at his entrance into the ship was furiously assaulted by Emanuel Mansa, (the Captain of the island) he crying out that this was the rogue who had committed so many insolencies towards them, and that this was he who had burnt one of their houses, and had made it a common practice to reproach him with the opprobrious name of *Querno*, i.e. cuckold. Upon this exclamation the ship's company sided with Mansa, and mobbed Hatley, and would have certainly used both him and his boat's crew very scurvily, had not the Captain and his officers with much difficulty prevented it ; for they were exasperated to that outrageous height, that it is more than likely that they would have murdered him, had they not been timely hindered.

This is the account which he delivered to me with his own mouth : but as to the Captain, I received a very obliging

letter from him in answer to mine, which was word for word in broken English as follows.

Dated on board the *St. Francis Xavier* in the road of Santa Catalina, the 16th of *August*, N.S. 1719.

'Sir,

'I have received your's agreeable, and nothing is more ' sorrowful to me in the world than to hear that your men ' are wounded. I hope you know that those people are ' without knowing king or prince, and tho' they have one, ' they don't shew him the honour according as they should. ' I am very sorry not to give you justice as I should desire, ' being out of my power, you may do whatsoever you may ' judge to it. I would in my particular buy the health of ' your men, and I pray to consider that those people are ' wild, and hidden in the woods, if you should seek for ' revenge upon them. It would risk your men to a very ' butchery, and without any fruit. I will contribute all in ' my power to help you to have the satisfaction of this, ' and at the same time I will send an express as I shall to ' Rio Janeiro to the Governor, and acquaint him, as well as ' the Court of Portugal, of what it hath past, and at the same ' time of the tyranny your men have received.

'I am

'your most dutiful

'and obedient servant

'La Riviere.'

The evening after the receipt of this I went my self on board the Portuguese, where I was received and treated with abundance of complaisance, the Captain asking my

pardon for the ill usage my officer had met with ; but withal gave me to understand, that there could not be a greater provocation to the people of that nation than what was reported about Hatley ; that as to his ship's company, they had got him amongst them before he knew any thing of the matter, and that he was obliged to call his priest to his assistance before he could get him out of their hands, and in a very handsome manner touched upon Hatley's story. I made no longer stay on board of them, and at my departure was saluted after their manner with seven *Vive el Reyes*, and 11 guns. The next morning Monsieur la Riviere came aboard with his chief officers to breakfast with me, and fell a tyde's work down the harbour with us. At his going away I could give him but 3 guns, having only 4 mounted, the rest being struck down into the hold to ease the ship, and make her stiff when we came to sea. We were now ready to depart, and I had made the ship perfectly fit to go through the tempestuous navigation we were to expect in sailing to the southward : I had made our stern as firm as possible, by covering it entirely with thick plank, and had only left two small skuttles to give light into the great cabbin, and had furnished our selves with plank to build an awning, but chose rather to set it up at sea, than make a longer stay here. I also added very considerably to our stock of provisions, and did not make the least expence of our European stores, (liquors excepted ;) for my people did eat nothing but fresh provisions during our stay at this Island. I purchased 21 head of black cattle, some at 4 dollars, and others at 8 ; several hogs at 4 dollars each, and 200 large salted drumfish, at 10 dollars *per* hundred, together with 150 bushels of *Farina de Pao*, which is the flower of *Cassader* root, as fine as our oatmeal ; it is very

hearty eating, and prepared without any farther trouble than boiling the water, and soaking a quantity of this *Farina* in it, which makes a kind of burgou immediately. I likewise bought 160 bushels of calavances,[1] some of which I purchased with money, at the rate of a dollar *per* bushel, and some with salt, exchanging one bushel for another; and added to all this a very necessary article, *viz.* a good stock of tobacco.

Thus provided of every thing useful to the ship and the people, we, on the 8th of *August*, sailed from St. Catherines, to my great satisfaction, it being what I had long despaired of.

From the latitude of 40 deg. to the latitude of 52 deg. 30 min. we had a sight of continual shoals of seals and penguins, and were constantly attended by *Pintado* birds, about the bigness of a pigeon; their feathers being black and white, are disposed in such a manner, as to make their backs and wings appear chequered like a draught-board. These were accompanied by *Albitrosses*, the largest sort of sea-fowls, some of them extending their wings 12 or 13 foot. And whilst we had the river of Plate open, the sea thereabouts was covered with prodigious quantities of large sea-weed, which often incommoded us, it being impossible to avoid running sometimes amongst it, which gave us much trouble to clear our selves of it, and at the same time deadened our way. But as we went to the Southward, this inconveniency left us. After which we had on the surface of the water abundance of things appearing like white snakes. We took some of them up, but could not perceive there was any life in them, nor were they formed into any shape resembling any kind of animal, they being only a long

[1] Beans.

cylinder of a white sort of a jelly, and may probably be the spawn of some of the larger sort of fish. I might have observed, that as we advanced to the Southward, my people's stomach encreased with the sharpness of the air to that degree, that the same allowance which the Government gives in the Navy was not sufficient to satisfy their hunger. Some of my officers in particular were very angry that they could not have their bellies full, or at least a greater share than the common people. Mr. Betagh, my Captain of *Marines*, (who had been formerly a purser of a man of war, and a man whom I had a great regard for) was the champion for an addition of allowance at my table, for he told me that he had orders from the owners to eat with me ; and what was my table if I did not eat better than the cook ? To this I answered, that he knew I was not allowed an ounce of fresh provisions to sea with me, and that he could have no reason to complain, having all along fared as well as my self without any charge to him. But notwithstanding all I could say, this good gentleman did not think it proper to use any decency at such a table, and would sometimes take the greatest part of what we had upon his own plate ; so that I found my self obliged to divide the allowance of my table into equal parts, and every one had their part by lot. Upon this Mr. Betagh used his endeavours to persuade the people not to starve themselves, as he called it, and he gained his point so far, that in a very little while after, I was forced to give them an extraordinary meal every day either of *Farina* or calavances, which at once made a considerable consumption of our water and firing. Betagh could not stop here, but urged by his voracious appetite, and finding me inflexible in giving my consent to squander away our

provisions, without knowing when or where we might get any more, had at length the insolence to tell me publickly, that the voyage should be short with me, which he often repeated. I should have had reason to have feared it, had he been capable of commanding, for I had been well informed that he was a Cape of Good Hope man. But however, for his punishment, I excluded him both from my table and the great cabbin. Upon this, Captain Betagh finding that I was in earnest with him, and fearing a heavy punishment for his mutinous behaviour, sent to ask my pardon. Upon which I again restored him in a handsomer manner than he afterwards deserved, as will appear by the sequel.

But now to resume the thread of our voyage, I must inform the reader, that between St. Catherines and the river of Plate it is but an indifferent coast. For which reason I kept a good offing, till I came to the southward of Cape St. Anthony, where I hauled into foundings, as has been said before. There is another thing worth our observation, and that is, that the whales, grampusses, and other fish of a monstrous bulk, are in such numbers on the coast of Patagonia, that they were really offensive to us very often. For they would come sometimes so close to us, as almost to stifle us with their stench when they blew, and would lie so near to us, that I have frequently thought it impossible to escape striking upon them on every send of a sea. I am a stranger to the Greenland fishery, therefore cannot say why a trade might not be carried on here. I may venture to affirm that it is a safer navigation, and I am apt to believe that here is a greater certainty of succeeding.

Saturday, 19th of *September* 1719. I remembring to

have heard of some shoals in the latitude of 50 deg. 30 min. South, and having no draught that described this coast, (for Clipperton, who was supplyed with every thing necessary of that kind for both ships, did not think fit to let me have any) and judging that I was not above 20 leagues from the land, I stood right in, the greatest part of the day, with intent to strike ground upon them, but did not come into less than 55 fathom ; therefore at night I altered my course along the shore again. About midnight I perceived the water to be discoloured all at once, whereupon we sounded, and found 26 fathom ; which done, I stood off to sea, but did not deepen our water in the running of 5 leagues. At 6 the next morning we had 30 fathom, but had no sight of land, though some were of opinion that they had, which I did not depend upon. This bank must lie very near the entrance of the streights of Magellan. On this bank, or shoal, we saw great numbers of blubbers appearing, like the tops of umbrellas, curiously streaked with all sort of colours, which were a species entirely different from what I had ever seen before.

From hence I shaped my course for the streights of le Mair, and as we approached the coasts of Terra del Fuego, met with very foggy weather. I had a fine opportunity of going through the streights of Magellan ; but Capt. Clipperton, in his scheme, pretended, out the abundance of his judgment and experience, that the streights of le Mair would be the best navigation at this time, though he himself passed through the streights of Magellan ; from whence it may be conjectured, that he who never was fond of having a consort with him, designed to make use of a likely expedient to separate himself from us to some purpose ; and I

shall shew it in its proper place, that he was a man who would do any thing rather than not follow his own way of thinking, tho' never so dishonest or inhuman.

23rd of *September*. The fogg clearing up, we saw some mountains of a stupendous height on Terra del Fuego, entirely covered with snow. The nearest point of land to us was at least 8 leagues distant, bearing S.W. but before we could make any farther discovery the mist returned; therefore I stood off for some time, and then brought to. At 4 the next morning I made an easy sail to the South eastward, and at daylight it proved very clear, when I found I had fallen in with the land about 5 leagues to the Northwestward of the streights of le Mair. We had now a full, but melancholy prospect of the most desolate country (to all appearance) that can be conceived, seeming to be no other than continued chains of mountains, one within another, perpetually hid by the snow. Towards noon we were becalmed, withing 3 leagues of the mountains called the Three Brothers, so named from their equal heights, near resemblances, and proximity one to the other; the Westermost of them bearing S. by W. and Cape St. Vincent E. by S. distant 2 leagues. Each of these 3 mountains rise gradually with an even surface to the Northwestward, and then drop almost perpendicularly on the foot of each other, and form three bluff heads. Thus they appear at a distance, which caused Monsieur Frezier to tell us, in his description of this part, that they are contiguous. But I was near enough to see that the two Westermost of them are divided by a large river, or very deep bay, where, perhaps, a ship might find good shelter on any emergent necessity. These mountains have no snow towards the sea, and are no other than rocky precipices, and are but a very obvious mark to

inform all shipping that come this way, that they are near the mouth of the streights of le Mair. But there is another thing which makes them the more remarkable, and that is a slender peeked mountain appearing like a column of snow, much superior in height to the rest of the land. This, though situated far up in the country, looks as if it was close behind the Three Brothers, when, at the forementioned bearings, this peek may be further known, by leaning its head in a surprising manner to the South-eastward. We saw it at several bearings, but it kept its shape and seeming distance, and one would have almost thought that it followed us as we rounded Cape St. Vincent to go into the streights, which are about 3 leagues to the South-eastward of the Three Brothers.

Before we came on the coast of Terra del Fuego, we had not been sensible of any helps or hindrance by any currents from the time that we had got to the Southward of the river of Plate, but this afternoon we were hurried with incredible rapidity into the streights, and just as we had gained somewhat more than mid passage, the tide slacked. We then sounded, and had but 27 fathom a rocky bottom. At the same time I took an opportunity to make what observations I could of the place. We had a clear view of Staten land, which yields a most uncomfortable landskip, of a surprizing height, covered with snow to the very wash of the sea, and bears more of the likeness of a huge white cloud, than of firm land. These streights seem to answer very well to Monsieur Frezier's map of them, being about 7 leagues through, 6 leagues wide, and lie almost North and South. But the Northern tide rushing upon us with an equal violence with what had brought us in, it prevented my

making any farther remarks, and afforded matter of astonishment to us all to see how fast we were driven out again, notwithstanding we had a fresh, fair gale at N.W. and when at the same time we went 6 knots by the log, by which I cannot judge this tide to run less than 10 knots in an hour: in short, we were quite carryed out in about an hours time. Upon the shifting of the tide to windward, there arose such a short sea, which at the same time was so lofty, that we alternately dipped our bowsprit end and poop lanthorns into the water; our ship laboured in the most violent manner, and became insensible of the guidance of her helm; but at midnight the tide shifted, and we put through the streights, steering S. with a brisk gale at N.W. without seeing the land, distinctly, and in the morning had a very good offing to the Southward.

After we had got well to sea, we unstocked our anchors and brought them aft, and got in our spritsail yard to ease our bows, and make every thing as snug as possible. We had found it very cold before we came this length, but now began to feel the extremity of it. The bleak Westerly winds of themselves would have been sufficiently piercing, but they were always attended either with snow or sleet, which continually beating on our sails and rigging, had cased the masts, and every rope with ice, and had, in a manner, made our sails almost useless to us. So much were we accustomed to the most severe storms, that we used to think it tolerable weather if we could bear a reefed main-sail, for it was common with us to be 2 or 3 days together lying to under bare poles, and exposed to the shocks of prodigious seas, much larger than any I ever saw. Now we began to be thoroughly sensible of the benefit of our awning, and, indeed, we could

scarce have lived without it. The winds reigning thus tempestuously, without intermission, in the Western board, we were driven into the latitude of 61 deg. 30 min. of South latitude.[1] Add to this our misfortune of having continual misty weather, which laid us under hourly apprehensions of falling foul of islands of ice, but thank God we escaped that danger, though we had many alarms by fog banks, and other false appearances. Notwithstanding we had the days very long, yet it was very seldom that we could get a sight of the sun ; so that we had but one observation of the variation in all this passage, which was in the latitude of 60 deg. 37 min. South. 5 deg. 00 min. to the Westward of the streights of le Mair, where we found it 22 deg. 6 min. N.E.

Thursday, 1st of *October*. At 7 in the evening, as they were furling the main-sail, one William Camell cryed out, that his hands and fingers were so benumbed that he could not hold himself, but before those that were next to him could come to his assistance, he fell down and was drowned.

The cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same latitudes to the Northward ; for, although we were pretty much advanced in the summer season, and had the days very long, yet we had continual squals of sleet, snow and rain, and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by gloomy dismal clouds. In short, one would think it impossible that any thing living could subsist in so rigid a climate ; and, indeed, we all observed, that we had not had the sight of one fish of any kind, since we were come to the Southward of the streights of le Mair, nor one sea-bird,

[1] 380 miles further South than Cape Horn, or half-way between South America and the Antarctic Continent.

except a disconsolate black *Albitross*, who accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till Hatley, (my second Captain) observing, in one of his melancholy fits, that this bird was always hovering near us, imagined, from his colour, that it might be some ill omen. That which, I suppose, induced him the more to encourage his superstition, was the continued series of contrary tempestuous winds, which had oppressed us ever since we had got into this sea. But be that as it would, he, after some fruitless attempts, at length, shot the *Albitross*, not doubting (perhaps) that we should have a fair wind after it. I must own, that this navigation is truly melancholy, and was the more so to us, who were by ourselves without a companion, which would have somewhat diverted our thoughts from the reflection of being in such a remote part of the world, and as it were, separated from the rest of mankind to struggle with the dangers of a stormy climate, far distant from any port to have recourse to, in case of the loss of masts, or any other accident ; nor any chance of receiving assistance from any other ship. These considerations were enough to deject our spirits, when we were sensible of the hourly danger we were in of losing our masts, by the incessant continuance of such stormy weather as we underwent ; but the hopes of enjoying a long repose in the Pacifick Sea on the coast of Peru, lightened our cares, and gave us some small relief.

Thursday, 22nd of *October* 1719. At 8 at night we carried away our fore-top-mast, and rigged another next morning. We crept, by very slow degrees, to the Northward, for we might truly say, that ever since we left the streights of le Mair, till the first land we made on the coast of Chili,

we had continual contrary winds, and uncomfortable weather.

On *Saturday*, 14th of *November*. At noon we saw the coast of Chili, distance 10 leagues, Latitude *per* observation 47 deg. 28 min. So.

CHAPTER IV

ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF CHILI

HAVING now weathered the most hazardous part of our navigation, and being arrived on the confines of the Spanish settlements in Chili, it behoved us to act with all the precaution necessary to prevent our being discovered. Our supernumerary allowance of provisions, as before mentioned, had wasted our water and wood in such a manner, that instead of proceeding directly along the coast to the Northward ; we were laid under an indispensable necessity of contriving some means, by which we might get a recruit of the two abovementioned articles, and dared not think of going any further, till we had supplyed ourselves with them ; for we had but 7 buts of water remaining, and those lying in such a manner, that half the hold must have been unstowed to get at them, and a much less proportion of wood. Our circumstances being thus unfortunate, I thought the prudentest method we could take, would be to go to Narborough's Island, and, accordingly, we directed our course to that place, and on *Thursday*, 19th of *November* 1719 at 8 in the morning we saw land, and at noon, the body of Narborough's Island bore N.E. distant 3 leagues. At the same time Latitude *per* observation 44 deg. 43 min. South. Variance *per* amplitude 8 deg. 50 min. East.

Saturday, 21st of *November*. At 7 in the morning we had soundings in 28 fathom, fine grey and black sand. But here we found a very wild road, which would not be safe in the unsettled weather which we had at that time. But being willing to try what could possibly be done farther, at 9 the same morning, I steered E ½ N., for the river of St. Do-

mingo, which empties itself from that part of the Continent which is situated opposite to Narborough's Island. In this river I imagined we might wood and water, and clean our ship undiscovered, there being no inhabitants thereabouts. As we came in with the main land, we had regular soundings from 28 to 20 fathom ; but as soon as we had advanced a little into the entrance of the river, the water shoaled from 18 to 15, 12, 10, 9, 7, 6, 5, 4½ fathoms, as fast as the man could heave the lead, therefore being unwilling to run too great a risque in so unfrequented a place, and being only a single ship, I immediately stood out to sea again. As we ranged along the shore, in going in, and returning out of this river, we rounded several bays, which seemed to be very commodious, but were all foul at bottom. The day following we had windy, rainy, thick weather, which forcibly blew us to the Northward of this part.

It was a great unhappiness that we could not reach the Island of Juan Fernandes, in latitude of 33 deg. 30 min. South, without stopping at any other place. But our tedious passage, and extraordinary consumption of provisions, had not only reduced us to an extreme shortness of water and wood, but of all kinds of dry provisions also, which we were all but too sensible of. So that I was really obliged, in common discretion, to think of some place where we might not only wood and water, but also get a fresh supply of dry provisions. Being thus surrounded with doubts and apprehensions that we should be obliged to go to leeward[1] without a competent stock of eatables, one Joseph de la Fontaine (a Frenchman) assured me, that if I would go to the Island of Chiloe (which was, at that time, a little to the Northward of us) there was no place like it in the South

[1] Northward, up the coast.

Seas, and that to his knowledge (for he had been there) we could not fail of supplying ourselves in what measure I pleased ; that the towns of Chacao and Calibuco, the first on the Island, and the second on the Continent, were rich places ; that the former was the usual residence of the Governour, and that at the latter there was a wealthy college of Jesuits ; and that there were considerable magazines, which were always well stocked with provisions of all kinds. At the same time that he acquainted me with this, he insinuated the same account, with some additions, into his ship-mates, who, with one voice, concluded, that if I passed by this island, our expedition might probably end ignobly without doing any thing, since it was likely that Clipperton had already alarmed the coast, the natural consequence of which must be an embargo laid on all ships trading to leeward. This, indeed, would have added extremely to the necessity we were under of providing for ourselves whilst it was in our power ; for I must own, that the thoughts of living wholly on our European stock, were very melancholy ; which must, in a very little time, have brought us into inconceivable difficulties, if we did not speedily meet the enemy, or if we had failed in any enterprize ashore, if we had been so unfortunate, we could not have kept the seas without something to live on, and, in such a case, must have been forced either to surrender, or quit the coasts, and have gone towards India, where we should have met with cold reception without money or credit. This would, indeed, have been a fine opportunity for my unruly fellows to have taken the piratical turn which they threatened at St. Catherines. But it was not without a mature deliberation that I formed a resolution of going to Chiloe, and could not but think myself happy in having so

good a prospect in this exigence of preventing such evils as might, in all likelihood, have ensued. The chief thing that encouraged me to make an attempt at Chiloe, was to get such an additional supply of provisions as should (in case the coasts were already alarmed) enable us to retire to some obscure unfrequented island, there to remain till the Spaniards should imagine that we had abandoned their seas, and then to come upon them again when they had not the least apprehensions of being molested by us.

Monday, 30th of *November* 1712. We entered the channel, between the Continent of Chili and the Island of Chiloe, and stood in for the harbour under French colours, with intent to surprize and attack the towns of Chacao and Calibuco. But when we came into the channel, our pilot seemed to be as great a stranger to it as myself, and the wind beginning to blow fresh, and rainy thick weather coming on, I anchored at 10 in the morning in 13 fathom, between the point of Carelmapo and a small island called Pedro Nunez. Immediately after we had come to, the windward tide made out with a prodigious rapidity, which instantly caused a great sea, and the wind increasing, made the channel all about us appear like one continued breach. In the mean time our ship laid a great strain on her cable, which parted at 2 in the afternoon. We could have no hopes of recovering our anchor, because the buoy had been staved and sunk an hour or two before we had been thus forcibly set adrift. In short, I did not think it safe or prudent to hazard the loss of another anchor, where there was such a certainty of ill success, and therefore stood directly cross the channel for the Island of Chiloe, in a boisterous gale, thick rainy weather, all surrounded with seeming shoals, and, in a manner, lost in a navigation unknown to

any of us. When we had advanced within a mile of Chiloe, we ranged along shore to the Southward, in hopes to discover the town of Chacao. We passed by two commodious bays, but had nothing like a town appearing near them, and, at length, came about a point of land which is to be known by a high rock like a pyramid, which almost joins to it. Having rounded this point, I found myself entirely out of the tide, and commodiously sheltered from all other inconveniences; and, therefore, anchored overagainst a cross which was fixed on the Northern side of the harbour, and had (luckily) just daylight enough to direct us to a retreat, from the dangers we might have incurred amongst such variety of violent tides, unfrequented channels, and foul weather.

But in order to come to an execution of my design, I, the next morning, sent my second Lieutenant in the pinnace, well manned and armed, to make a discovery of the towns of Chacao and Calibuco; and, at the same time, Capt. Hatley went in the launch, to find out a watering place. He soon returned, and brought an Indian with him, who had shewn him what he went in quest of, where he might, at once, get both wood and water without any great trouble, even under the command of our cannon, and out of all danger of being surprized. Upon which, (that we might make as small a delay as possible) I sent some hands in the launch with casks immediately to be filled, and people to cut wood, well armed, with an officer of Marines and 10 men to be on the guard. The Indian gave us hopes of a sufficient supply. But came in the evening to my people, who were ashore, to acquaint them, that the country was forbidden to bring any thing to us. The pinnace not being yet returned, this information made me apprehend that the enemy

had taken her, and, by that means, had learned what we were.

3rd of *December* 1719. At 7 in the evening, there came to us a Spanish officer (in a *Piragua*[1] rowed by 8 Indians) who was sent by the Governour to be informed of what we were. In order that I might manage the deceit with the greatest shew of probability, I ordered, that none should appear on the deck, or, at least, be heard to speak, but such as could either speak French or Spanish. As soon as we had a sight of the piragua, I hoisted French colours, and when the Spaniard came on board I told him, that we were a homeward bound French ship called the *St. Rose*, and that my name was le Janis le Briton. Under this notion he staid with us all night, and I accommodated him with the best my ship afforded, and departed the next morning, not seeming, in the least, to suspect us. I wrote to the Governour by this gentleman, signifying, that I wanted a supply of provisions to carry me to France, desiring him to assist me as much as conveniently he could.

I now concluded my pinnace was lost, since the aforementioned Spaniard had given me to understand that it was not above 3 hours sail to the town of Chacao. What could one have thought after 3 days absence, but that they had either deserted, or been taken, which would infallibly be the ruin of my design ? But the sequel will shew what little confidence I could put in the generality of my officers.

5th of *December* 1719. At 7 in the morning, we saw two boats sailing towards us, which I, at first, supposed to be our own, and some boat she had taken. But as they approached, I found them to be two piraguas full of men, who, after they had viewed us, went on shore on a small island

[1] Canoe.

lying in the mouth of the harbour ; upon which I ordered every one to put on their Grenadiers caps (which I had caused to be made) and spread themselves fore and aft, to appear as terrible as we could to them ; for it would have been in vain for us to have followed their light piraguas in our heavy launch.

6th of *December*. At 5 in the morning seeing a white flag on the shore, I sent away the launch, completely manned and armed, to the place where the flag was, but they found none to treat with them, except a letter which was made fast to the flag-staff, and a dozen of hams laying close by. The contents of the letter were as follows.

'From the Presidence of Chacao,
'6th of *December* 1719.

'SIR,

'Since I had the news of seeing a ship in the place where ' you are, and perceiving, at her coming in, that she was ' incommoded, and that even your pinnace passed by this ' town, by which they shewed their ignorance of the dangers ' of coming into my harbour, I immediately conjectured ' she was come for a pilot to bring your ship in ; therefore ' sent a soldier, in a canoe, to discover what they were. ' But your people bore away from him in my sight. You ' sent me a letter, which I read with pleasure, and assure ' you I am sorry for your misfortune by contrary winds, in ' which I also partake——Nevertheless I can but think how ' accidentally you have alarmed all my country ; for ' (commonly) ships that are bound to this port send their ' boats in before them, which you not doing, has given me ' all sorts of suspicions ; which you had not done, had I had ' any certain assurance of your being the *St. Rose*, the ship

'you mention: but I believe you don't care to declare 'your self thoroughly, since you did not send directly to 'me. I never saw such a manner of alarming this province, 'and putting the inhabitants under arms: you little think 'what passes in this fortress.

'I sent a canoe to call your pinnace back, but they would 'not be known, but on the contrary, crowded sail, and put 'themselves in a posture of defence, and fired two fuzees 'at my boat, who had no arms in her, I not thinking it 'necessary: since which, I hear they have been ashore on 'an island, where they killed a sheep, and were seen to re-'embark very hastily, leaving behind them all manner of 'actions entirely contrary to the letter you favoured me 'with: for which I complain to you of the extravagancies 'of your men, that you may know their ill practices; and 'they may assure themselves that I and all the inhabitants 'will oblige you to pursue your voyage. You must needs 'have had wood and water enough in the time that you 'have been in the port where you are, and having orders 'from my King not to supply any foreign ships with pro-'visions, I cannot order what you have desired of me. I 'thank you for the compliment of drinking my health, and 'have sent you a dozen of hams, as the fruit of this country, 'and as fruit only I have taken that liberty.

'Don Nicolas Salvo.'

I did not much regard this gentleman's threats, though at the same time I must acknowledge, that all my hopes of success in any attempt I might make against the towns of Chacao and Calibuco were entirely vanished. The cowardice of my people in the pinnace was the greatest disappointment to me, for I really looked upon them to be nine of the

stoutest and most resolute men in my ship, and imagined that they could not have been scared or taken by (almost) any number of Indians : however, I returned an answer to the Governour, and ordered it to be fixed as they had found his.

'From on board the *St. Rose*,[1]
'6th of *December* 1719.

'SIR,

'I had the honour of yours, and am very uneasy at my 'people's behaviour, they had not the least direction from 'me for so doing, I sent them only to discover your harbour, 'in order to pay my respects to you, for which reason I 'let them have only one day's bread to subsist. I can say 'nothing in their behalf, but am ready to believe they have 'mistaken the way, and were drove by necessity to be so 'outragious as to kill the sheep you mention ; and being 'strangers here, they fired at your boat, (I suppose) under 'a notion of their being wild Indians——Here I could gladly 'compound and make restitution for the loss your people 'have sustained, besides bringing my boat's crew to con-'dign punishment, not only on your account, but also for 'disobeying my orders——I shall sail in 48 hours, and if 'they fall into your hands in that time, I beg you will be 'pleased to send them aboard, as an instance of your 'friendship——Although I have not been supplied with 'any refreshments, my people have passed by several 'flocks of sheep, &c. and have never touched any of them, 'or any thing else belonging to the inhabitants——I must 'once more beg of you ; if my people are with you, (as I 'have good reason to believe they are) you would be

[1] I assumed that name for my ship to pass the better for *French*. —AUTHOR'S NOTE.

'pleased to send them aboard: in regard I should be very 'sorry to give you any uneasiness by making any reprizals. 'I heartily thank you for your present of hams, and beg 'you'll accept of a little pepper, a small quantity of butter, 'and a few cheeses.

'SIR,

'I am, with all respect,

'YOURS,

LE JANIS LE BRETON.[1]'

Early the next morning the white flag was hoisted at the same place, and the boat went ashore and brought off the following letter.

'From the Presidence of Chacao.

'SIR,

'I received yours with much approbation, but as for your 'boat I have not taken her, neither have her in my power; 'only this I know, that they have been ashore at some Indian 'houses, and have rummaged and taken several things of 'small value. The Indians here being very poor, these 'actions are very unhandsome: but I know that these 'ravages are committed by sailors, who practise nothing 'but mischief; they have even carried away with them 'two Indians, which I persuade my self they took for 'pilots to direct them in their return on board your ship: 'but as soon as your boat arrives, I beg those Indians 'ashore, for they are not savages, but my domesticks, and 'Christians.——SIR, I have not your pinnace, neither 'do I design to attack her, for had I been so minded, I

[1] This was the name of a *French* Captain who was well known on these coasts.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

'could have destroyed her with my artillery as she passed 'by this fortress; and you may assure your self, that if 'they come, I will remit them with all speed. I must, 'moreover, desire your excuse, in that I have not yet sup- 'plied you with provisions and refreshments, for it is not 'in my power to do it; I farther entreat you, to order your 'men, when they go for water, not to take any cattle they 'may meet in their way, and that will be a convincing 'proof of your sincerity——I am very much obliged to 'you for your present, which I esteem very much, as being 'a specimen of the European food, of which I am a native. 'I remain, with all my heart,

'your most humble
'and obedient servant
'Don Nicolas Salvo.'

Being in despair of ever seeing my people, which were absent in the pinnace, and being as much at a loss to know how and whereabouts Chacao was situated, as I was the first day I came here, because we had no draught[1] of this island that I could depend on, I determined to alter the style of my letters, and try what could be done in making a rupture with him, being determined by some means or other to make amends for my loss of time in coming here, by such a recruit of provisions as could be got, though even in the most hazardous manner, since it was impossible I should proceed without it. And therefore having it now in my power to chuse either to desist from the prosecution of the design for which I came out of England, or to venture our lives among the woods and distant habitations of the Indians, where we might in all probability get such a

[1] Chart.

quantity of one thing or other as would render us capable of keeping these seas as long as would be necessary, I thought it as eligible to finish our days with our voyage here, as to perish at sea, or surrender ignominiously to the Spaniards. I had this reflection to encourage me, that the former navigators of our nation who had ventured to cruise in these seas, had by their actions instilled a dread of the English name in the Spaniards inhabiting the coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico, though none that I ever heard of had molested this island before. But being buoyed up with the success of some others who had been in these seas before me, I did not doubt a fortunate event to my endeavours, and therefore sent the following answer to the Governour's last.

'From on board the *St. Rose*.

'SIR,

'I have received yours of the 7th instant, and by this in-
'form you, that I am extremely dissatisfied with my people's
'indiscretion. If they had returned in the time I prefixed
'to you in my last, I might by this time, perhaps, have sailed
'according to my promise: but can now no longer forbear
'observing to you, that as my people have lived on nothing
'but salt provisions for a great while, I can hardly restrain
'them from doing things irregular in such a place as this,
'where cattle are so plenty, which I am not allowed to
'purchase for money. I am very sensible what a condition
'your fortress is in, and what strength it consists of, which
'I have been informed of by very good authors; and I have
'now a passenger aboard who has been here several times
'in the time of Don Pedro de Molina, and by this begs leave
'to kiss the hands of Padre Arnoldo, Padre Gatie, Don
'Francisco Carenot, and Don Juan de Vouert——

'I think it very hard I cannot prevail on you to let the
' Indians bring in provisions at their own price, and am
' very sorry to tell you, that provisions I must have, and
' that very speedily. All the forces of Chicao, Calibuco,
' Carelmapo, or Caftro, shall not frighten or deter me from
' supplying my self: but however, I had rather get it
' peaceably, than cause such a disturbance, and have made
' choice of the place where I am, rather than come within
' your jurisdiction, being unwilling to give you any un-
' easiness.

'Sir, &c.

'Le Janis le Breton.'

I did not think it fit to tell him in plain terms that we were English; for I had two views in concealing it, the first to hinder them from alarming the coast, and the other to give them a dislike to the French traders, who have considerable interest with the Spaniards in these kingdoms, which would certainly have had in some measure its desired effect, if we had not had the ill luck of being discovered. However, to make no farther delay by a fruitless correspondence with the Governour, I the next day sent Mr. Brooks, my first Lieutenant, in the launch with 29 men well armed to take what provisions of any kind he could meet with. Soon after they were gone, there came a *Piragua* with a message from the Governour, signifying, that if I would send an officer to Chacao, he would treat with me. But I gave him for answer, that I would treat no where except on board my own ship; and farther gave him to understand, that it was now too late, since I had already dispatched 80 men (I thought it proper to magnify their number) to take all they could find. In the evening the

launch returned, and brought with her a large *Piragua* she had taken, and were both laded with sheep, hogs, fowls, hams, barley and green peas and beans ; and soon after the pinnace arrived (which I had so long given over for lost) with all their crew : but were so terrified, that I had no hopes of their being fit for service in a little time. The officer told me, that he had fought his way through several canoes of armed Indians, and that it was with great difficulty he got clear of them, which he did by making his passage round the island, which was (at least) 70 leagues. This, nothing but an excess of mean-spiritedness could have urged them to, even if they had had such numbers to encounter as they reported : but especially when there was but one boat of unarmed Indians, with a Spanish Serjeant, who came off to them without the least shew of violence, as the Governour mentions in his first letter, and as some of themselves afterwards confessed : (but with this addition, that there were great numbers of people on the shore, whom they were apprehensive would follow them.) The officer had no excuse for his imprudent conduct in exposing himself so much as to pass by the town, nor could he alledge any better reason for not returning on board as soon as he had got a sight of the town, but that the tide hurried him away, and that in the fright he had forgot that he had a graplin in the boat to come to with, till the tide had shifted. In short, their dread was so great, that rather than pass by the town of Chacao again, (though even in the night, when they would not have been perceived by the inhabitants) they chose to row round so great an island in a small open boat, crowded with as many men as she could well carry in, a climate as much subject to hard gales of wind and dangerous seas, as the coasts of England : so that it was a hundred

to one that they were not lost. But seeing all of them were confounded with shame and seeming regret, I said but little to them, and only made the officer (who commanded them) sensible of his unpardonable mismanagement, which had been the ruin of the advantageous and promising view I had in taking either Chacao or Calibuco.

I must beg leave here to make a digression, to shew what probability I had of easily making my self master of one of those places, if not both, by what my French man Joseph de la Fontaine, who had been here several times, informed me, who said, that there was indeed at Chacao what they called a fortress, but it did by no means deserve that name, for that he never saw above 2 guns mounted, and those with their carriages half buried in the earth; that they never dreamt of being attacked by any Europeans, and being in perfect peace with the Indians, it made them negligent in their discipline, and suffer what strength they had to run to a useless decay; and that what garrison they had, consisted chiefly of a mixed breed of Creolian Spaniards, who are worse soldiers than the Indians themselves. From all this one may naturally conclude, that if I could have brought my ship before the town of Chacao in the space of 48 hours after my first arrival, I could have met but a feeble opposition in rendring my self master of the place. But after they had been under apprehensions of being attacked for 7 days successively, one might reasonably conceive that they had lost no time in preparing themselves, by all the contrivances they could think of, to give us a warm reception. But could we have come upon them in so short a time as I could have wished, and had no cause to doubt but that I should on my first arrival here, the Governour could not have had time enough for any reflection that

might have suggested to him that we were English. The Indians who were brought aboard by my pinnace's crew, told me, that there was near a thousand armed Spaniards on the island, and my Frenchman was of the same opinion : but both agreed, that if I would let them alone in their city, (for so they called their town) I might do what I pleased in the country, where the poor Indians must bear the weight of all damages : upon which I laid aside all thoughts of going to their towns, under hopes of furnishing my self with what we wanted from the Indian plantations and farms, which in the sequel afforded us the chief article of what I proposed to my self in coming here, *viz.* a competent stock of provisions, to which purpose I kept one of my boats continually employed in foraging.

11th *December* 1719. we had for the most part of the 24 hours hard gales of wind from the N.N.W. to the N.E. At 3 in the afternoon I sent the pinnace ashore with a bill written in Spanish, to be fixed on the door of some remarkable Indian house, whereby I gave them to understand that they had nobody to blame for the hostilities we committed but the Spanish Governour, who by his tyranny had hindered them from bringing what provisions they had to a market where they might have had their own prices : but that since they dared not disobey his commands, if they would manage their affairs so as to leave 4 hams, 4 bushels of wheat, and an indifferent quantity of potatoes, in their houses, they should sustain no farther loss ; but, that if they would not comply with this demand, nor make this contribution, I would burn their houses and all their standing corn, and commit all the outrages I could devise. But I found no advantage by this, for the Spaniards took care that it should not have its desired effect : notwithstanding

which, I was supplied tolerably well by my people, who proceeded with a continual diligence and good order in that respect; but proved sad fellows in some others, an instance of which I shall give in the person of Betagh, my Captain of Marines, whom I sent ashore with a party of his men to see what service he could do with them: but as soon as he had landed, he called to his serjeant, saying, *Damn Captain Shelvocke, why did he send me with these people? I don't know what to say to them, therefore, prithee, take you the command upon you*; and he himself retired into the ranks, and his Lieutenant Dod, (a gentleman who had rid in the Guards many years) out of respect to his Captain, placed himself at his right hand, and the new Captain managed his charge very officer-like: however, this made the people entertain a mean opinion of their land-commander, which he found by experience before he returned to the ship; for, his men, meeting with some difficulty in shipping what they had got, and Captain Betagh refusing to give them any assistance, they left him ashore, where he stayed all night; for it came on to blow so hard before the boat was unloaded, that it was impossible to row to windward to fetch him. I asked Captain Hatley (who commanded the boat) how he came to treat his brother officer with so much disrespect? He answered, that Betagh would not vouchsafe to wet his foot, and that he could not prevail with any of the crew to carry him into the boat, who complained that they were already fatigued with carrying burdens, and that they positively would not load themselves with the weight of one who was neither seaman nor soldier. Notwithstanding which excuse, Betagh laid the whole blame on my second Captain, and threatened to use him very roughly if ever he met him ashore: to prevent which,

(when they went on business together) Hatley always took care to be boat-keeper. I could by several examples of this kind inform the world what assistance I had in my expedition ; but I fancy it will be sufficient that I assure my reader, that we had several transactions full as ridiculous as the last mentioned, which happened amongst my chief officers.

13th of *December* 1719. in the morning, I sent my pinnace to sound in the harbour's mouth, and at noon they returned, having found from 7 to 9 fathom in the channel, and 3 and 4 on the bank.

16th of *December* 1719. we had now our decks full of live cattle, such as European sheep, hogs, *Guanacoes*, of which more hereafter ; poultry in great abundance, and hams, &c. as also a good quantity of wheat, barley, potatoes, maiz, or Indian corn ; and, in short, I computed that I had added 4 months provisions to what remained of our English stock, and that without the least hindrance or molestation from the enemy.

17th of *December* 1719. at 4 in the morning, we began to unmoor, at 6 got our small bower aboard, and at 8 weighed, but it falling calm, anchored again under the Northern shore in 6 fathom ; at noon weighed, and sailed out, wind at W.S.W. The night before we departed hence, one of my men deserted, and made his escape in the woods, it was beyond all dispute that this fellow would give a full account of us, which being added to the ill conduct of my pinnace's crew, who frustrated my design of taking something considerable here, together with the contrary execution of all my orders by those officers whom I had hitherto entrusted in affairs of importance, made me leave this place with regret, and in despair of ever having any thing done to purpose except I left the ship my self upon all occasions,

which would have been by no means customary or proper ; upon the whole, I could not forbear reflecting on the mismanagement of some gentlemen in England, who blindly made use of their interest to prefer gentlemen to posts of too great weight for their capacities, when we might at the same time have had officers who were men both of honour and ability, who had seen action, and served under regular discipline from their childhood : some such I had recommended ; but because they could not promise to eat the heart of a Spaniard every morning, (which was an expression often made use of in Captain Clipperton's vain low way of boasting) they were ordered to be discharged, and others sent in their room, who, though they came to us under the name of veterans, proved to be ignorant novices.

I sailed from Chiloe with design to go strait to the Island of Juan Fernandez, but was prevented from holding my course thither, for my people having been possessed with notions of a prospect of vast advantages that might be made by going into the port of Conception by the Frenchman who had been so instrumental in our Chiloenian attempt ; and finding that his account hitherto had been tolerably just, they once more listened to him, who assured them that there were always 5 or 6 sail of ships in the road of Conception, and others daily coming in and going out, that they had very often both ways considerable sums of money and plate, and other valuable things, on board ; that though they were large ships, they had little or no force, and that there was no fortification to protect them, so that if there were 20 sail, we could not meet any hindrance in taking them all ; that their cargoes chiefly consisted of corn, wine, brandy, flower, bread, jerked beef ; that the ships bound to Conception always bring money with them to purchase their

cargoes, besides the booty that might be got from rich trading passengers who carry on a considerable commerce between this port and Buenos Ayres over land ; and that we could not fail of ransoming whatever vessels should fall into our hands at very great rates, insomuch that if we could but get into Conception before they had any knowledge of us, it was past all doubt that we should make a very extraordinary hand of it. He therefore advised them to endeavour to prevail upon me to make the best of my way thither, forasmuch as it was certain that the Governour of Chiloe would send our[1] deserter to Conception with all imaginable dispatch, and that since it would be 2 or 3 months journey by land, he would infallibly convey him by sea in some small vessel, and that if they arrived at Conception before us, the rest of the coast would in a very small time be universally alarmed, by which means we should not have an opportunity left of meeting with any thing till they imagined that we had abandoned their seas. In short, the most of my officers, &c. began to look on this Frenchman as the only one who could instruct them in the properest methods of making their fortunes. Notwithstanding all this, I kept my eye on my orders and instructions ; but since so many unforeseen misfortunes had put it out of my power to follow them so strictly as I would, I was now convinced within my self that I could not keep up to the strict observance of them without a manifest detriment to the whole, which might be followed by a train of the most unfortunate consequences ; for it was not the account that this man gave that had any effect on me, at this time, but my own reason, having sufficiently learned the nature of the management of affairs on these coasts. I was very justly apprehensive

[1] The man who had deserted from us at Chiloe.—AUTHOR'S NOTE.

that there would be a general alarm in a very short time, if it was not partly done already by the unhappy necessity I was under of going to Chiloe, and there was no dispute but that it had been done e'er now by Captain Clipperton, (if he was in being) especially to leeward, and if so, the trade would be certainly laid aside in the Peruvian ports : but be that as it would, I knew by a woful certainty that the time was now near at hand when there would be an embargo laid on all shipping except the windward traders, those I knew must at any hazard, if there were never so many cruizers in quest of them, be obliged to go to Chili in order to supply Lima and the other numerous settlements of Peru with the common necessaries of life, which they must otherwise want, they having hardly any species of provisions but what they are supplied with from the Southern parts. Therefore instead of losing time by going to the Island Juan Fernandez, whither I was to go to join Captain Clipperton, who if he had not miscarried had been long gone from thence, so that the only end in going thither would be to no purpose ; I thought it behoved me to make sure of something whilst it was in my reach ; and since as my orders were become useless by the situation of my circumstances, which would not permit me a close pursuit of every article of my instructions, without an irrecoverable prejudice, I became somewhat inclinable to try my fortune at Conception.

As every body in such cases are fond of delivering their sentiments, and as it is impossible to keep a ship's company in so much awe in so remote a part, as in short voyages near home, so, every one of my ship's company, who could say any thing at this juncture, (as they all imagined themselves to be so nearly concerned in their lives, liberties and fortunes,) did not fail to speak their minds somewhat insolently;

particularly, one William Morphew, who was one of those whom I had out of the *Ruby*, and had been in these seas several years, took upon him to tell me, that it could not signify much if we arrived 2 or 3 days sooner or later at Juan Fernandez ; that I was a stranger here, but that the Frenchman and himself were so well acquainted, that everybody hoped I would be advised and go to Conception, and begged I would not put a meer puncto to orders in the balance against such a prospect, nay, certainty, of success, if we were so happy as to arrive there in time. I, for this once, condescended to satisfy them so far as to spend 2 or 3 days in going to Conception, which after all I should not have done, had I not really been of opinion that it would be highly beneficial.

CHAPTER V

TRANSACTIONS AT CONCEPTION, ON THE COAST OF CHILI, AND VOYAGE TO JUAN FERNANDES

In the evening we arrived in the bay of Conception, but could not be certain that we saw any ship in the road which is called Talgaguana ; however, I ordered the boats, well manned and armed, to go up in the night to surprize what ships or vessels they might meet with there, with strict orders, if they found any thing too strong for them, to do what they could to hinder them from sending any thing valuable to the shore, whilst I worked up to them in the ship as soon as the wind would permit. I kept plying to windward after they were gone till I found that I lost ground ; for which reason I anchored, but weighed soon after : but could make no hand of it all night, and at day-light could not discover any thing above us.

About noon Captain Hatley returned in the pinnace, and informed me that he had taken a ship called the *Solidad d' Anday*, which was the only one there, that was about 150 tuns burthen, and being lately come from Baldivia, had nothing on board except a few cedar planks, and that there was no body on board of her except the boatswain, an old *negroe*, and two Indian boys, and that he had left Mr. Brooks, the first Lieutenant, in possession of her, with orders to bring her down by the first opportunity : in his return to my ship he took a small vessel of about 25 tuns, near the Island of Quiriquine, (which lies in the harbour) where she had been to take in pears, cherries, and other fruits, for the Conception market. This vessel belonged to a

priest who had been gathering fruits, and was now made a prisoner in her; for having the curiosity to advance too near to my people, in order to discover what they were, he and his cargoe unluckily fell into their hands together with 4 or 5 Indians. Immediately after they had taken this, there was another small boat which came in between the Island of Quiriquine and Talgaguana. I could perceive with my prospective that she passed within less than pistol-shot of my pinnace; but Captain Hatley (who commanded her) never once offered to follow her, or bring her too; Hatley, truly, said, he did not mind her, though his boat's crew all agreed that she was full of men. This was the most stupid neglect that could possibly be conceived, since any one that had any thoughts about him would have certainly conjectured that that vessel was bringing advice from Chiloe. I did not fail to reprimand him for this, but to what effect when it was too late, except to instruct him in his behaviour in the like cases for the future!

26th of *December* 1719. The priest being very solicitous to ransom his bark, he left my ship at 7 in the morning, in my pinnace, rowed by 5 Indians, to get money for that purpose.——At noon, Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, brought down the ship they had taken, and anchored about half a mile short of us. The Contre-Mastre, or boatswain, of her had not been aboard of us above 2 hours before he gave me an information of a vessel laden with wine, brandy, and other valuable things, bound to the Island of Chiloe, lying at anchor in the bay of Herradura, about 2 leagues to the Northward of us. Upon this, I ordered Mr. Randall, second Lieutenant, with the boatswain of the *Solidad*, with 25 men, to go thither in the *Mercury*, (for so we called our fruit-bark) with positive orders not to set a foot ashore, or

make any hazardous attempt. But the next evening they returned with a dismal story, *viz.* that they went into the bay, and found the vessel hauled dry ashore ; upon which, the officer ordered his people to land, and bring away what they could out of her, whilst himself and three or four more kept the bark afloat. When they came up to her, they found her empty : but at the same time seeing a small house just by the vessel, they began to be of opinion that the cargoe was lodged there ; upon which, the officer immediately ordered them up ; so away went the poor fellows, with no body at the head of them, without any regard to order, every one endeavouring to be foremost ; but their career was soon stopped, for they had no sooner got upon the bank, than they discovered the enemy rushing out furiously upon them. Some of those who were there, told me, they believed they might have made a safe retreat if they had not been astonished at the manner of their approach ; for they stood gazing to see a number of horse coming upon them in a regular manner without riders : but as soon as they heard the noise of those behind, they all made the best of their way to the *Mercury*, and all escaped except 5, who were overtaken in shoal water, they all agreed that these were cut to pieces, for they saw them trampled upon by the horses, and immediately after followed a confused noise of cutting and slashing with spadoes.[1] It was happy that the *Mercury* accidentally grounded, for otherwise they must all have been cut off : but the enemy retired when they had advanced within musket-shot of ours, who with much difficulty got their vessel afloat again. The water being now very low, they were obliged as they went out to keep near to a point of land, from whence the Spaniards, under the shelter

[1] *Espadas*, Spanish swords.

of the woods, galled them ; but the wind being fair, they soon passed it ; and lying all close in the bottom of the bark, they had only one man wounded, who was shot through the thigh. They told me, they perfectly saw the manner how the Spaniards came down upon them, *viz.* that (according to what passage they had) they were preceeded by 20, or more, horses a-breast, linked to each other, these were two deep ; then came the enemy, mounted, and lying upon their horses necks, driving the others along, and were not once seen to sit upright in their saddles except when there was no danger, or to fire their muskets. When they had got near my people, they threw out lines with nooses at the end of them to catch them, and accordingly James Daniel, one of my foremast men, was ensnared after he had run a good way into the water, but was dragged out again (to use his own expression) after the rate of ten knots ; in short, they are universally dextrous at this, for I have seen a Spaniard bring a man up by the foot as he ran along the deck, and they say they are sure of any thing they fling at, at the distance of several fathoms. This new addition to the continual run of misfortunes we had hitherto laboured under, quite dispirited the greatest of my ship's company, and there was nothing heard but murmuring and discontent fore and aft the ship, damning the South Seas, and that if this was making their fortune, they had better have staid at home and have begged about the streets ; but they had nothing now to blame but their own obstinacy in persisting on our coming into this port. However, that which seemed the most to exasperate them, and make them afraid that they should get nothing in these seas, was our misfortune in finding only one old empty ship in this harbour, which is looked upon to be one of the chief on this coast.

I said all that I could to encourage them, and to disperse the melancholy which was fixed in every countenance ; though I must own that I was highly concerned at the unhappy posture of our circumstances, but took care to hide the disquiet of my mind from every body. But as I was expostulating with Mr. Randall (who had the charge of the late unfortunate undertaking) concerning his vexatious mismanagement, I was agreeably surprized at the sight of a large ship which we saw coming about the Northermost point of the Island of Quiriquine ; it being almost dark, she could not perceive what we were, so that they stood in without fear or apprehension of what so speedily befel them. This sudden appearance gave us no hurry, for we were always clear, and ready for action. Our launch was immediately manned to intercept their running ashore, or going to sea again, and my cable was ready to slip if there had been a necessity for it. As soon as she had approached us near enough, I hailed her, to which they returning no answer, I fired into her, which was no sooner done, than I ordered the launch to put off directly ; the enemy upon this shortned sail, but kept fast their anchor, and just as I was going to slip my cable, the launch came up with her and gave her a volley of small arms, and they instantly came to, and called for quarters. It was about two of the clock in the morning before my boat returned to inform me of any news of her, when they brought with them the Spanish Captain, and some of the chief passengers, who acquainted me, that their ship was called the *St. Fermin*, that she belonged to, and came last from Callao, that she was about 300 tons burthen, and had a very small cargoe on board, which consisted of sugar, molossus, rice, coarse French linnen, and some cloaths and bays of Quito, together with a

small quantity of chocolate, and about 5 or 6000 dollars in money, and wrought plate. I sent Mr. Hendry (the agent for prizes) on board of her in the *Mercury*, to inspect her lading, and to order every thing he could find valuable out of her, and the ship's company sent their agent likewise. In the afternoon they returned, and brought all the bales, boxes, chests, portmanteaus, &c. that were in her ; and also all the rice, with a large quantity of sugar, molossus, and chocolate, and about 7000 weight of very good rusk, with all the eatables and stores.

Don Francisco Larrayn, who was the Capt. earnestly entreated me that he might have the liberty to ransom his ship, which I willingly consented to, and suffered him to go in his own launch to Conception, with a merchant who was likewise a prisoner, to raise the money.

In the mean time, we were busyed in searching all over our prize, that nothing might be concealed, and every body was strictly looked after by people appointed for that purpose, who examined the pockets, &c. of all such who, at any time, came from on board the *St. Fermin*, and our carpenter was imployed in making a slight deck over the *Mercury*, it being probable that she would be of great use in coasting along shore.

30th of *December* 1719. There came a boat aboard from the Governour with a flag of truce, and an officer, who brought word that 3 of my people who were missing in the skirmish at Herradura were killed, and the other two much wounded about the head ; but that they were in a fair way of recovery, they having been diligently attended by the Governour's own surgeons. This gentleman brought me a present of 7 jars of very good wine, the product of the country, and farther informed me, that that boat which

Hatley had suffered to go from him, had brought advice of us from Chiloe, that our deserter was in her, guarded by a few unarmed Indians ; by this messenger I also received a letter from the Governour, the contents of which were as follow.

'SIR,

'I received the two letters you did me the pleasure of ' sending, the first by the priest, who came ashore in your ' pinnace, and the other by the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* ; ' you know, sir, that to treat for ransoms in war, the com- ' manding officers, as well by land as by sea, must (or ' ought to) be provided with passports from their princes, ' and without that it is not convenient to enter into any ' treaty, and I should be much to blame if I did it; if you ' will therefore do me the pleasure to send me one of your ' officers with your passport or commission, whereby you ' are empowered to cruize, I will, in that case, give you my ' word of honour, and that of the King my master, to send ' you back the officer as well as the passport, and then we ' will treat about the ransom of the *St. Fermin*, and the ' exchange of prisoners in our respective possessions. I ' have two of yours that are wounded on the head by the ' cut of a sword, and I have ordered them to be fed from ' my table, and my surgeons (who are men of experience) ' have dressed their wounds ; they will do very well, there- ' fore be not in pain for them, and I will send them to you as ' soon as I have had a sight of your commission, which ' method is what I practised in Flanders, when I was at ' war with your nation, and what I have known to be ' practised from the first to the last of nine campaigns ' which I served in Flanders. You shall have your pinnace ' returned without any manner of difficulty when ever you

'please, and I will be ready to do you all the good offices 'in my power, when I am well assured that you have a legal 'commission from your King. But if you have not any 'such thing, I beg you would frankly declare it, in order 'that we may come at some conclusion in this affair, that 'may be of a suitable convenience to both of us.

'The priest did not return, because he has been given to 'understand, that gentlemen of his function cannot be 'detained according to the laws of arms; but that, on the 'contrary, they are to be dismissed as soon as taken; and 'indeed I must confess, that I have both seen it done, and 'have done it myself. Nevertheless, if you are inclined to 'have him again, you shall, provided that I see your 'aforesaid commission, and I will send a passport for the 'officer you shall send to me, signed with my own hand, the 'honour of which I dare not forfeit. I desire you, sir, to 'send me all the letters which you have taken from the 'Captain and passengers, though they are opened; foras- 'much as after you have had a sight of them, they can be of 'no farther service to you. You cannot but know that it is 'usual to transmit all letters taken from one part to the 'other, although they are sometimes opened, according as 'it seems convenient to the commanding officer who takes 'them. Send them directly to me, because you know it is 'not proper that many should see them, since it may be a 'great prejudice to the publick credit. I expect from your 'civility all the favours I have begged of you, and in return, 'I shall wish for an opportunity of making you sensible how 'much I am, sir,

'your most humble
'and obedient servant
'DON GABRIEL CANO.

'Conception, 9th of *January*.
'N.S. 1720.

'Postscript. I beg you would be so good as to send me 'Joseph de la Fontaine, a Frenchman who lived some time 'in this city, and is now in your ship, and has been with 'you ever since you departed from the Island of St. 'Catherines; he belonged to Monsieur la Jonquiere, he is a 'little man, and flat nosed. I would willingly speak with 'him, and promise you upon honour, that I will remit him 'to you again; but don't let him know that I intend to 'return him. I once again beg of you to do me the favour 'of sending me all the letters, as well those directed to 'any of the inhabitants, as those directed to myself, 'although they are unsealed, and desire you would com-'mand the passengers to give them all to you, to the end 'that I may distribute them. Put them all up together in 'one packet, and direct them to me. If you will send one 'of your officers, that speaks either French or Spanish, I 'engage my honour that I will not detain him by any means. 'I expect your answer to day, and for the future will keep 'up a regular correspondence.

'CANO.

'Postscript 2. If you send an officer with your com-'mission, together with all the letters for me, and the rest of 'the neighbourhood of this city, you may detain the officer 'who brings this. You shall have your pinnace as soon as 'I can get the Indians together who are now dispersed, and 'it shall come with your officer in his return.

'CANO.'

To this I returned in general, that as to sending my com-

mission, it was neither prudent or usual, but that for his satisfaction he should have a copy of it, and, at the same time, see the printed declaration of the war which lately broke out between their Britannick and Catholick Majesties. And therefore having sufficient hostages on board amongst my prisoners, I sent Betagh, Capt. of Marines, on shore to transact our affair with the Governour and Captains of the ships. But the day before he went I received the following letter from the Governour.

'Conception, 10th of *January*.

' SIR,

'I have received your obliging letter, and can see by your ' stile that I am treating with an officer of honour, and a man ' of condition, therefore, sir, I will put the same confidence ' in you that you have in me. But as it is very troublesome ' to me to write French, and having, at the same time, an ' infinity of affairs on my hands, I will let your officer know ' my pretensions by word of mouth, begging you to be ' convinced of the perfect consideration wherewith I am,

'SIR,

'your most obedient,

'and most humble servant,

'DON GABRIEL CANO.'

1st of *January*. Capt. Betagh went to Conception with a copy of the commission, the declaration of war, &c. all that day the enemy appeared in great bodies of horse, and in the night posted themselves along shore from the city to the point of Herradura, and kept firing by intervals the whole night. I was not less vigilant aboard ; for as at the Island of Chiloe we were always prepared for action, so here,

whether watching or sleeping we might be said to be under arms, and at the turning of every glass[1] during the night, we beat 3 ruffs on the drums, and made three huzzas; and for a farther security against any attempt they might make in boats, in the night, when they might imagine that we were all careless and asleep, I had a net spread of 7 foot deep above the gunwale from the main shrouds quite forward, and I kept, for the most part, under way, when we had wind, and when it was calm, the ship's oars were always out, which served as so many booms to prevent our being set on fire. At midnight they fired twelve guns from the city of Conception; which, I believe, was designed to give me an idea of their strength; soon after Capt. Betagh returned with a Flemish Jesuit, a Spanish lawyer, and an English and a Scotchman. The Jesuit assured me that he was only come to pay his respects to me, and to do his utmost to mitigate the affair in hand, and bring it to an immediate conclusion. Therefore the first thing I did in order to satisfy him as far as possible, I shewed my commission to the Englishman, who read it in Spanish to them. After which the Jesuit soon discovered to me, that though his profession was spiritual, he did not think it beneath him to meddle with temporal affairs; for he said he was come to acquaint me with what the Governour, and the Captains of the *St. Fermin* and *Sollidad* had resolved on, which was to give me 12000 dollars for the ransom of both the ships, and the *Mercury* included, instead of 16000 dollars which I had insisted on for the *St. Fermin* only. To which I positively, and in few words answered, that all their perswasions, artifices, and pretences should never make me agree to it; and, in short, the whole night was spent in a

[1] Half-hour glasses were used instead of clocks.

fruitless treaty, both sides being inflexible. The Jesuit had an affair of his own, which was the chief thing which drew him to venture himself amongst us, though doubtless he put it on the footing of an act of charity done to the unfortunate Captain of the *St. Fermin*, for it is to be observed, that in the *St. Fermin* we took ten large silver candlesticks which were designed for the Jesuits church here. Now this holy father very modestly broke off from talking of the ransom, to beg me to make him a present of those candlesticks, each of which weighed above 25 pounds sterling. He in an humble manner represented to me that they were a legacy left to his convent, and hoped I should make no dispute of so noble a charity as to put them in the possession of those for whom they were designed ; and especially since they were intended to be part of the most holy furniture of the altar ; that it would be in me a deed of the highest merit if I restored them, and would lay him, and the rest of his brethren under the strictest obligation to send up their prayers for a success to me in all my undertakings. This promised return for so considerable a gift seemed to me to be so inconsistent with reason, that I did not much mind it, it being very improbable that they would pray for a happy issue to the undertakings of those, whose business it was to do all the damage they could to the good father's fellow subjects, and who centred all their hopes of success in the direct and open ruin of such Spaniards as fell into their hands, not to mention the backwardness they would be in, in imploring Heaven that those, to whom they will not allow so much as the name of Christians, should prevail against the truly Catholick Church ; upon the whole I had so indifferent an opinion of the specie I was to be paid in return for such much good silver, that I was so heretically

obstinate as not to come in to the *padre's* measures. But thinking to oblige him, I offered to let him have them for their weight in dollars, which, considering the great price they pay in these parts for the fashion of wrought plate, was a very advantageous offer. But he acquainted me in the first place, that they never bought any thing for sacred uses, and in the next, that as the workmen were forced to put a great deal of allay in plate to be wrought, it would be difficult to determine the different values of the dollars and the candlesticks, so as to come to a nice equation of the matter; therefore after a deal of needless dispute and entreaties both about this, and the ransom of the ships; the Jesuit and the rest affirming that the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* was not capable of raising above 12000 dollars, and to confirm me the more in the belief of the present scarcity of money, they told me, that the inhabitants had removed all their effects a great way from the town, upon advice of a squadron of English men of war coming into those seas. But this seemed to me to be so trifling an excuse, that I insisted still on having 16000 dollars; and included the *Sollidad* into the bargain, and desired that they would let the captains know from me, that if they deferred the payment of that sum longer than 24 hours, they should irrecoverably lose their commands; and also took this opportunity of letting the Governour know the ill success of our conference. About 6 in the morning they left us, after having wasted the night in much said and nothing agreed upon. We made as formidable an appearance as our force would admit of, while these gentlemen were in the ship; for I began to apprehend, (and not without good reason) that their chief business was to inspect, and give an account of our strength.

Betagh told me, that the Governour seemed mightily pleased that we were a commissioned ship, saying, that now the trading people would be freed from the miserable apprehensions of falling into the hands of pyrates, who had formerly treated them very barbarously. He received Betagh very civilly, and assured him, that we should not meet with the least delay in our business, and told him that the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* had his money ready counted to send aboard; but the gentlemen of the place very handsomely confined him from taking any view of the town, and took care to have him go ashore, and come off in the night. The man who went to wait on Capt. Betagh happening to have a Grenadier's cap[1] on, gave great offence, some crying that it was a downright disrespect and ridicule of the mitre, and of consequence an unpardonable piece of insolence, so that it was happy that the fellow saved his cap, or his bones either.

Two days being past, and hearing nothing from the Governour, I began to be certainly convinced they had something else in view more than the accommodation of the ransoms. But on the 4th of *January* at 10 in the morning my two wounded men came aboard in my pinnace, and brought the following letter from the Governour.

'Conception, 14th of *January*.
'N.S. 1720.

'SIR,

'Upon what you have favoured me with in the letter 'concerning the ransom of the *St. Fermin*, I refer myself to 'what the Captain has written to you; forasmuch as that 'affair must be decided between you two. He asks you

[1] A high, embroidered cap like a bishop's mitre.

'hostages for the payment of 12000 dollars, and in that he 'seems to me not to be out of the way. For as he looks on 'you as a man of bravery and honour, if to his misfortune 'you should prove not to be so, it would be intirely in your 'power to set sail and depart with his ship and money; 'though I am so far from entertaining any such opinion 'of you, that I would willingly offer my self to be your 'surety. But, in short, he will not send the money till he 'sees two of your officers, and till you have put him in pos-'session of his ship in such a condition as you shall have 'agreed upon, and as this appears reasonable to me, I 'cannot oblige him to do otherwise, leaving him to his own 'liberty to make his own conditions. All I shall have to do 'in this affair will be to see your officers safely returned on 'board your ship; for which I give you my word of honour. 'I now send you my two prisoners and your pinnace, and 'desire you to let me have all those belonging to me. You 'see, sir, that I never designed to detain either the one or 'the other. As to the article of the chaplain of the ship, 'who you tell me is a lawful prisoner, because you have 'always seen it done; it may be so by sea, but never by 'land, for which reason I thought myself obliged to demand 'him: in short, I have sent you, as I said before, your two 'soldiers and pinnace, after which there can be no difficulty 'remaining to you that may hinder your sending ashore all 'those belonging to me, which will oblige,

'SIR,

'your most, &c.

'CANO.'

My people brought me word from the Capt. of the *St. Fermin*, that he would have sent me the ransom money in

48 hours after he left me, but the Governour would not permit him by any means, but was now in hopes he should prevail with him, since their design was laid aside, of attempting to take or destroy us; for it seems they had assembled all the Europeans upon this occasion, but the Spanish gentleman who had been on board, insisted at their council upon its being too hardy an enterprize. I was now well assured of what I had been hitherto only dubious of; for I could see by the Governour's trifling, that he never designed to do, or consent to any thing to our purpose; but crammed his letters full of the grossest falsehoods in laying all the blame on the Captain, saying, that he left him at his liberty to do as he would, when, on the contrary, he threatened him in the severest manner if he offered to bring, or send me any money. In short, I sent him an answer in plain pressing terms, and was resolved to convince him that I was in earnest; and to give him an immediate instance of it, I ordered the *Sollidad* to be set on fire, the effect of which was, that I had a letter from him the next day as follows.

'15th of *January* 1720.

'SIR,

'Permit me to tell you, in answer to your last, that you 'are in the wrong not to send the two hostages that were 'demanded; you know that according to the laws of arms 'it is thus practised, you are not less in the wrong to suspect 'me, and disregard my word, since you see I sent you your 'wounded men, and your boat, and if I have deferred a few 'days, I acquainted you yesterday with the reason of it, 'therefore it signifies nothing to repeat them, since you 'have been so outragious as not to give faith to what I have

'said to you. In a word, send the two officers, or at least 'one, any time to morrow, without which I believe we shall 'not be able to come to a conclusion; however, does it not 'appear reasonable to you to put some trust in my word 'of honour, that I gave you to send back the officers you 'was to send as soon as the Captain has got possession of 'his ship, you see I cannot fail since you have two or three 'prisoners in your ship. Let us make an end of this matter, 'sir, have confidence in me, and consider with yourself, it 'will be better for you to take the 12000 dollars, than burn 'the ship, from which no advantage can arise to you. I 'expect your answer, having the honour to be perfectly

'YOURS,

'CANO.'

'Postscript. I can't tell, sir, whether you will be able 'to read this letter, I had so much business at the time 'yours arrived, that I was obliged to get another gentleman 'to write it for me; for God's sake be reasonable, and so 'endeavour to order this matter, that there may be content 'on all sides. I suppose it would give you no satisfaction to 'burn the ship, and go away without the 12000 dollars. 'At least, if I was in your place, I should do what the Cap-'tain of the *St. Fermin* desires of you.

'CANO.'

To this I answered by word of mouth, that as I had acted in this affair so handsomly to every one concerned, they might easily repose so much confidence in me as to pay the ransom without hostages; forasmuch as they could not have the least reason to suspect by my behaviour, since I had been in this port, that I would act dishonourably by them; that I could not in conscience send any of my officers

ashore, amongst such who had all along dealt so ambiguously with me, as under a pretence of treating in an honourable manner, to be privately plotting and contriving how they might destroy us, which was the only thing they had in view; and that, in short, if they did not send the 12000 dollars by noon the next day, I would infallibly burn the *St. Fermin*, as I had done the *Sollidad*.

The next morning I received a fifth and last letter from the Governour, to this effect.

'Conception, the 16th of *January* 1720.

'SIR,

'I assure you I did not expect from your civility, that you 'would have failed doing me the pleasure of answering the 'letter I wrote last night; I really think it very irregular; 'for as I have failed you in nothing of all I promised, only 'deferred 2 or 3 days in sending you your boat, I can't 'imagine what reason you can have for slighting my word, 'I assure you I could trust very much in yours. But as it is 'the Capt. of the *St. Fermin* who ought to have this confi-'dence, who would doubtless have had it, had not all the 'merchants agreed to the contrary; who insisted that it 'was customary not to send the money without hostages; 'you may readily conceive that it was not proper that I 'should oblige him to send you the money, the command I 'have here does not authorise me to dispose of the purses 'of the King, my master's, subjects; for as to that they 'must do according to their own inclinations. In short, 'sir, tis determined to send you the 12000 dollars, but it 'cannot be done till to morrow morning, notwithstanding 'that the Captain will do his utmost to send it to day, that 'you may have it towards the evening; but I doubt he

'cannot do it till to morrow morning, and that without fail; 'the reason of meeting all this difficulty in raising the 'money is because the greatest part of the inhabitants of 'this town have sent all their money from hence, upon a 'report that some ships were making the best of their way 'to attack this place. If you will stay till to morrow morning 'you shall infallibly have the ransom of the *St. Fermin*, and 'if you will not, do as you judge most proper,

'I am, &c.

'Don Gabriel Cano.'

Certainly after the receipt of this no one could have doubted a speedy accommodation of our affairs, but by the event it will be seen that the Governour's word and honour, which he was pleased to say in one of his letters he could not violate, would be at any time subservient to the carrying on any political base design, and that his tongue could readily utter what his heart never thought of, and that though his promises were bound with the most solemn ties, yet none were so strong, as to be any ways conducive towards the execution of them. However, I sent a letter to his excellency to acquaint him, that 'though he had been pleased to 'upbraid me very unjustly; notwithstanding, that I had 'been so complaisant as to tell him that I was sensible of 'the truth of the reasons he had hitherto given me for 'acting thus cautiously. But that now if I did not honour 'him very much, I could remind him of several instances 'of the violation of honour and faith, by some of his pre-'decessors in these parts. But that I could not longer be 'so unjust to my country and my self as not to complain 'of the outragious mean act of stripping my two wounded 'men as they were passing through the town to come

'on board; that this plainly shewed his magistrates and 'officers unworthy of their charge, or his people to be 'ungovernable; that this could not be termed a handsome 'return for the tender usage his fellow subjects met withal 'from me; and that, in short, I would expose no hostages; 'but as he, and the Captain had sent me word that the 'money was ready, I expected it in whole dollars, or by 'weight, and not in small money by tale; that this was a 'reasonable demand, considering what a trifle it was, 'when compared to the value of so fine a ship and cargoe; 'that I had now entirely persuaded myself he would no 'longer obstruct an accommodation, which so manifestly 'tended to the interest of his country-men concerned, and 'that therefore I would have patience till the next morning, 'when, if he deceived me again, I gave him my word and 'honour the *St. Fermin* should be in flames by noon.'

6th of *January*. The morning passed away without any news from the town. However, I was willing to make an allowance of 3 or 4 hours, not knowing but there might be some real impediment which obstructed their being so punctual as I could have expected. But the noon being elapsed, I made preparation for sailing, loosing my sails, and at the same time unfurled all the sails on board the *St. Fermin*, and hoisted a Spanish jack at her fore-top-mast-head, and a Spanish ensign at the main-top-mast-head; this I did to hasten them from the town. The greatest part of the afternoon being thus spent, and perceiving no appearance of any boat coming off to us, I ordered the *St. Fermin* to be set on fire, (whose cotton sails being loosed made a prodigious blaze). This done, I immediately got under sail, much chagrined at the loss of so many days by the perfidious delusions of the Governour; but with some

satisfaction that I had not sent any of my people ashore as hostages for the payment of the intended ransom; for it was now visible, that they never proposed, within themselves, to do any such thing. All their aim in demanding some of my officers ashore by way of surety was, that having them in their power, and imagining that I dared not go away without them, they would have found objections and excuses sufficient to have made me stay in this place till they had thoroughly alarmed the neighbouring ports. I hoped that the burning these ships would be attended with the advantagious consequence of being a warning to the inhabitants of these coasts to ransom without delay; and I was afterwards informed, if they had but thought I would have destroyed the *St. Fermin*, they would have given even 20 or 30000 dollars to have saved her; for she was one of the best sailers and best fitted out of any of the Peruvian traders. The price I demanded for her hull and cargoe was not more than they must have given to have careened her at Callao; for a ship of her burthen, and fitted in the manner she was would have cost 90 or 100000 pieces of eight in this part of the world. But none before ever having committed an hostility of this kind on the account of not ransoming, they were willing to persuade themselves I never designed it, and were resolved to defer it till the last minute, which happened (perhaps) sooner than they expected, though it is probable that the *Corregidore's* or Governour's concurrence must be largely purchased before an affair of that nature can be effected; for as they enjoy their posts but for a short prefixed term of years, their chief business is to make hay while the sun shines, and a round sum of *Piasters* will make them wink at any thing.

The *St. Fermin* being now on fire, and driven out of the

bay, nothing remained but to go to Juan Fernandes to see if we could find by any marks that the *Success* was arrived in these seas, accordingly I directed our course thither, taking the *Mercury* with us.

Friday, 8th of *January*. The sea was all day perfectly red, appearing as if vast quantities of blood had been thrown in and curdled by the water. This the Spaniards say, is occasioned by the spawn of *Camarones*, or *Prawns*, which, I believe, may be a mistake. At noon, latitude *per* observation 35 deg. 5 min. South. M.D. W. 118 miles. In the morning, Mr. Stewart, the ship's company's agent, began to weigh the money and plate, and, at the same time, I ordered Mr. Hendry, the agent for prizes, to take a strict account of every thing in the behalf of the gentlemen of England. The plunder was also sold at the mast by the ship's company's agent at very extravagant prices. They would not suffer Mr. Hendry to have any thing to do in appraising the plunder, but did not hinder him from taking what account he pleased of it. For my part, I was apprehensive that they would have converted every thing to plunder; for Mr. Betagh (Capt. of Marines) had endeavoured to form a party to oppose the owners having a part of any thing but what was upon freight, or mentioned in bills of lading; to this purpose did he twice declare himself whilst the agents were weighing the silver before the ship's company, telling me, that if I with-held any thing else from them, I should do them injustice, upon which I expected (according to custom) that I should have had the main body of the people upon my back; but I put a timely end to this villainous effort, by referring them to the perusal of their own articles made at St. Catherines, which I told them (in my opinion) was hardship sufficient upon

the gentlemen concerned, without flying out of the bounds which they had prescribed to themselves; for there was neither plate, or money, nor any thing else of value, which came out of the *St. Fermin* that was taken notice of, on any paper on bills of lading, except some large silver candlesticks for the church, every thing being found in cabbins or private chests; however, it happened that there was not one that offered to open his lips to second Betagh, although they did not want for a good share of discontented unreasonableness; yet they were not for running matters to such a base extremity; notwithstanding which, I am perswaded that I should not have had above 4 or 5 officers to assist me in this emergency; for even Mr. Hendry, the agent for prizes was grown very angry that I would not allow him the shares and post of agent-general in the room of Mr. Godfrey, who was to have acted as such in both the ships, and who was now in the *Success*. The account of every thing being taken, and the value of the shares calculated, the ship's company desired me to let them have their dividend shared amongst them according to the St. Catherines articles, which request I could not withstand. The prize-money and plunder amounting to 10 pieces of eight *per* share, was thereupon distributed according to each man's respective shares, and all the bails of coarse cloth, bays, linnen, ribbons, lace, silk, and several sorts of pedlary wares, were equally divided, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company.

Monday, 11th of *January*. At 6 in the morning we saw the Island of Juan Fernandes, at noon the body of it bore W.S.W. distant 5 leagues, merid. distance from Conception 275 miles W. variation *per* amplitude 6 deg. 23 min. East.

From *Tuesday* the 12th. to *Friday* the 15th. of *January* I

kept standing off and on the shore, for my boats, which were a fishing, who not having hitherto discovered any marks whereby we might conclude that Clipperton had been here, I thought it proper to render my coming here serviceable in some respect, and therefore sent the *Mercury* ashore to stop her leaks, while the boats were employed in catching fish, of which we salted as much as filled five puncheons. At length going ashore to make a nicer search for any thing that might inform us of some news of my consort, some of my men accidentally saw the word Magee, which was the name of Clipperton's surgeon, and Capt. John cut out under it upon a tree, but no directions left, as was agreed on by him in his instructions to me. His actions being thus grossly repugnant to his instructions, it was evident that he never meant I should keep him company, or ever join with him again. However, being by this confirmed in the certainty of his being arrived in these parts, I directly made the best of my way from hence without delay, being, with the additional stock of fish caught here, in a pretty good condition as to provisions, and having all our water-casks filled.

Friday, 15th of *January*. I sailed, and made what dispatch I could to the Northward.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE COAST OF SOUTHERN PERU

Wednesday, 27th of *January*. I sent Mr. Brooks, the first Lieutenant, and Mr. Rainor, first Lieutenant of Marines, to relieve Mr. Randal and Mr. Dodd, in the *Mercury*. I had fitted her with a gang of oars, and upon tryal they gave way after the rate of 3 knots, which might render her extremely beneficial and useful to us in a calm.

Friday, 5th of *February*. I dispatched Mr. Brooks a-head to discover if there was any shipping at Arica, in the latitude of 18 deg. 20 min. South. The next day, at one in the afternoon, (after having ranged along shore by the breaks of Pisagua, Camarones, and Vitor) I had a sight of the head-land of Arica, and the Island of Guano, with a ship at anchor on the Northern side of it, and saw the *Mercury* standing out of the bay, by which I judged the ship was too warm for her, and therefore made all possible haste to get into her with my ship.

When I came into the port, I found that she was already taken, and that the *Mercury* only went accidentally adrift. This prize was called the *Rosario*, of about 100 tons, and laden with cormorants dung, which the Spaniards call *Guana*, and is brought from the Island of Iquique, to cultivate the *Agi*, or god-pepper in the vale of Arica. There was no white face in her but the pilot, whom I sent to see if her owners would ransom her. At 7 in the morning I received a letter.

Soon after we took a vessel of about 10 tons, as she was coming into the road with a cargoe of dryed fish and *Guana*, lying within a mile of the town. The country people being

by this time alarmed, repaired hither in great numbers, and seemed to me, at the distance we were, to be well mounted and armed, made a regular appearance, and always guarded the landing place, though it is impracticable for European boats to put ashore there ; nevertheless, I was determined to make a tryal of their courage by cannonading both them and their town, and made a shew of landing in the *Mercury* and launch. The cannon balls grazing on the surface plowed up the sand, which flew amongst them, but neither that, nor the likelihood that we should be closer to them in a few minutes, struck any apparent terror upon them, they not offering once to move, which made me sorry that I had made the experiement, which I chiefly intended as an encouragement to my people, in letting them see what cowardly enemies they had to deal with, being assured by a Spanish prisoner, that they would have hardly stood one shot.

As soon as it was dark, the merchant who had writ to me in the morning, came aboard himself, and having reason to believe him to be a man perfectly honest, but straitned in his circumstances, I agreed upon restoring to him his ship and 6 negroes for 1500 pieces of eight, with this proviso, that I would have every thing out of her that might be useful to us ; in short, he was so punctual and expeditious, that at 10 the next night he brought the sum agreed for, *viz.* 1300 dollars weight in ingots of virgin silver, which the Spaniards call *Pinnas*, and the rest in pieces of eight ; for which I restored him his ship and negroes. This gentleman made a great enquiry after English commodities, and offered great prices for them, and complained that the French only supplied them with paltry things and trifles, for which they ran away with many millions from them, and asked whether

all the English merchants were asleep, or grown too rich, or what could be the meaning that they never ventured into those seas to trade ; *for*, continued he, *though I now live in a by corner of the world, I know the advantages of traffick in most parts ; therefore I assure you, (and I believe all the French nation will agree with me) that we have the best markets in the universe* ; and that, notwithstanding their ports were not so open as in other parts of the world, yet they knew how to manage matters very well ; and that as their Governours were generally Europeans, whose stay in the country seldom exceeded three years, they made use of any means to improve their time, and that there were ways of gaining them so far as to make them act as though they were not. Much more he said, but concluded with a reflection on the blindness of the English, who had suffered the French pedlars to carry on uninterrupted the most considerable branch of commerce in all the world. Before he took his leave he desired me to carry his ship to sea with me 2 or 3 leagues, and then turn her adrift, the intent of which was to deceive the Governour and the King's officers ; and, moreover, told me, that if I would meet him at Hilo, which was about 25 leagues to the Northwestward he would purchase what little coarse merchandise we had, which might be done there with all imaginable privacy. The master also of the small boat came off upon a *Balse*, which is an odd sort of an embarkation made of two large seal-skins, separately blown up like bladders, and then made fast and joined together by pieces of wood, on this he brought off two jarrs of brandy, and 40 pieces of eight, which, considering his mean appearance, was as much as I could have expected, one part of his freight was valuable, which was a good parcel of excellent dried fish.

9th of *February* 1720. I sailed from Arica, and as I went out, the inhabitants, &c. placed themselves round the bay, and made a very good hedge fire[1] for about half an hour, I judged that there could not be less than 5 or 600 men.

As soon as I had got out of Arica, I shaped my course for the road of Hilo, which we had a sight of the next day at 3 in the afternoon, where we saw one large ship, and 3 small ones at an anchor. The great ship immediately hoisted French colours, and in the end proved to be the *Sage Solomon* of 40 guns, commanded by Mons. Dumain, whom I had left at St. Catherines, and was now resolved to protect the vessels that were with him, and obstruct my coming in. It being dark before I could get into the road, I sent my third Lieutenant Mons. la Porte, who was a Frenchman, to let him know what we were ; but my officer had no sooner got into the ship than they tumbled him out again, calling him *Renegade*, and sent me word that if I offered to anchor there they would sink me. Mons. la Porte upon this told me, that to his knowledge the French ships had often taken Spanish commissions at such times that there had been English cruisers on those coasts, as a recompence for which service they had great liberties allowed them in the way of trade ; he farther assured me, that he could plainly see that Mons. Dumain had double manned his ship with the inhabitants of the town, who were partly French, and that, in short, his anchor was a peek, and that he designed to be with me as soon as the wind came off shore. Whilst we were talking of this, they fired 3 or 4 guns at me to shew me they were in a readiness. This warmed me pretty much, and I immediately brought to, to consult what was best to be done. I at first thought of shewing my resentment in the

[1] Shooting from behind hedges or other cover.

highest degree, and thought it not impossible to have destroyed him, having converted the *Mercury* to a brander, who might, without any great difficulty, have roasted this insolent Frenchman. But upon a second consideration, I began to see that it must run us into a great many inconveniences, for we being at peace with his nation, notwithstanding the unwarrantable breach he made, disputes might have risen about it in Europe ; therefore laying aside all thoughts of such an enterprize, I clapped the helm a-weather, and stood out again.

Friday, 12th of *February* 1720. In the morning the ship's company had their moiety of the money taken at Arica, divided amongst them according to their number of shares.

On *Monday*, 22nd of *February* 1720. I came a-breast of Callao, the port for Lima, which is the Metropolis of Peru, it being calm I furled all my sails to prevent their seeing us from the shore. The next morning the rocks called by the Spaniards, *Farellones de los Piscadores*, or the Fishermens rocks bore W.N.W. distant 6 leagues, and at noon the Island of Galero bore E. by S. distant 5 leagues. We were now almost in sight of Callao, which might have been of bad consequence ; for there is a general order, for all ships coming in sight of this place to go in, and give an account of themselves, upon pain of forfeiture of ship and cargoe, so that if any sail passes by without obeying the aforesaid injunction, they presently conclude her to be a cruiser, and the country thereupon is advised of it, and an embargoe laid on all shipping to the Northward, and some of their men of war, which they commonly keep in readiness, especially when they have any enemies on their coast, are directly sent out ; therefore there being no great prospect of doing

much in our present station, I had nothing to do but to slip away from hence in the night, if we were favoured by a breeze of wind.

26th of *February* 1720. The officers in the *Mercury* desired to be relieved, and it being Capt. Hatley's turn to go in her, he proposed to me that he might continue along shore till we had got the length of Lobos, an island in about 7 degrees of South latitude ; at the same time he informed me, that he had travelled from Lima to Payta by land along the sea-side ; that in his journey he went through several good towns, which have a valuable commerce with the city of Lima in small vessels, which are sometimes very rich, and that there could be no doubt of meeting with great quantity of provisions at least, which would have been an acceptable article. I could not but approve of this, considering the probability there was of their meeting the Panama ships, who are always in with the shore in the evening to receive the benefit of the land winds, which reign all night, and a great part of the morning. Every body being mightily pleased with this account of Hatley, I added to their complement of men, and gave them a month's provisions, mounted two of our quarter-deck guns on the *Mercury*, and lent Capt. Hatley my pinnace, and furnished him with a copy of my commission, with full orders and instructions, though it was more than likely that I should have frequent sights of him between our separation and the place of rendezvous, which was at the Island of Lobos, which was not above 60 leagues from us. As soon as every thing was ready for their departure, Capt. Betagh (whose duty and turn it was to relieve the Marine officer in the *Mercury*) being unwilling to go, openly went amongst the people, and with a frightful countenance told them, that he, and the rest that were to

go with him, were sent for a sacrifice, to be sold and sacrificed, with a great many other expressions tending to create a general mutiny ; I now imagined no less than that he was about to act what he had threatened when he told me, it should be a short voyage with me, and therefore having prepared myself against any violence, I addressed myself to the ship's company, telling them, that, *I did not know what this ungovernable fellow meant by this uproar, and appealed to them all if it had not been customary with me to relieve the officers in this manner ever since we had had this vessel in company, and asked them if they ever heard me call upon any particular person by name to go on any enterprize, but left it to every man's choice to go out of the ship upon any service*; and, in a word, desired to know who amongst them were of Betagh's opinion ; upon this they with one voice declared that they had never entertained any such thought ; but that on the contrary, I should find them obedient to any commands I should lay upon them. This done, I ordered the *Mercury* along side, and acquainted her crew with the speech Betagh had made in the ship, and desired to know if any of them werc under apprehensions of being sold or sacrificed ; at which they sat up a huzza, and a loud hoot at the restless mutineer, and begged that they might go on the intended cruize in the *Mercury* ; accordingly Hatley and Betagh went on board of her, and put off from us, gave me three chears, and stood right in for the land, latitude *per* observation 10 deg. 9 min. South.

I think it will not be altogether improper to take notice of their proceedings (which were very extraordinary) after they left me, as I have since been informed by themselves, and by prisoners, *viz.* the very next day after they departed from me, they took a small bark laden with rice, chocolate,

wheat, flour, &c. and the day following took another ; on the fourth day of their absence they became masters of a ship of near 200 tons, worth 150000 pieces of eight. Flushed with this success, Betagh prevailed on Hatley, and the greatest part of the people with them not to join me again, telling them that there was sufficient for themselves to appear like gentlemen as long as they lived ; but that it would be nothing when the owners part were taken out, and the remainder divided into 500 shares ; and what is more (continued he) we expect to meet the *Success* every day, and then it is ten to one but they'll take all from us, and therefore he thought, since fortune had been so kind to them, that they would be highly to blame if they did not lay hold of this opportunity of going to India, since they had provisions and every thing else they could wish for in their voyage, and the happiness, into the bargain, of having a gentleman amongst them, (*viz.* Capt. Hatley) who was doubtless navigator enough to conduct them to some part of the coasts of Asia. This was soon resolved on, and they fell to leeward of the place of rendezvous. But Hatley pondering within himself the vast lengths to be run, and the many hazards of the undertaking, and knowing well what treatment he should find in India, if his treachery was discovered ; calling to mind how Capt. C——n[1] was dealt with when he ran away with Dampier's commission and one of his prizes, could not readily determine what he had best do in this case ; but kept hovering on the coast, and in the interim, some of his crew went away with his boat, to surrender themselves to the enemy, rather than be concerned in such a pyratical action. But Betagh, and his

[1] Clipperton, who served under Dampier in a privateering voyage and deserted him in the Pacific.

gang still kept Hatley warm with liquor, and, in the end, brought him to a fixed resolution of leaving these seas. But no sooner had they clapped their helm a-weather, than they saw a sail standing towards them, which, in short, proved to be a Spanish man of war, who caught them, and spoiled their India voyage. The English were treated very indifferently, but Betagh, who was of their religion, and of a nation which the Spaniards are very fond of,[1] was made an officer, and used very respectfully; this he certainly deserved at their hands; for he gave them an account of the whole scheme of our voyage, and not only informed them what we had done, but also what I designed to do, so that they did not doubt but I myself should be in their hands very speedily; and Betagh modestly desired of his new captain that whenever they met me, he might have the honour of entering[2] me the first, to shew an example to such as should follow him: but by the sequel will be shewn how providentially I was delivered from them.

Monday, 29th of *February*. At 6 in the morning the headland of Guanapo bore E. by S. and at 7 we saw a sail at anchor in the road of Guanchaco; at 11 we came up and anchored along side of her, there was no body on board of her but two Indian men and a boy. She was called the *Carmesita*, of about 100 tons, and had nothing in her but a little timber from Guayaquil, from whence she lately came; by these prisoners I was informed, that there was a rich ship in the Cove of Payta, who put in there to repair some damages she had sustained by a gale of wind; upon which I immediately went to sea; but in purchasing the

[1] Betagh was an Irishman, but, according to his own statement, no longer a Catholic: he denies these allegations of Shelvocke's.
[2] Boarding.

anchor, the cable parted, and I lost it. I took my prize with me, she being new and well fitted, and promised to sail very well. I named her the *St. David*, and designed to have made her a compleat fire-ship as soon as the *Mercury* joined us, who had the chief matter on board of her for that purpose.

I coasted it at a small distance from the land, and the next day looked into Malabriga and Cheripe, from whence I chased a small vessel, who, when I came within half cannon-shot of her, suddenly got her tacks aboard, and stood in for the land, and received all my fire. I thought I was sure of her, not (in the least) apprehending that they would have been so hardy as to have ran themselves on a beach, where the sea breaks mountains-high, (if I may use that sea phrase) I followed them into shoal water, and then was obliged to haul off with my ship, and send the launch after them ; but before they could come near her, (to my great astonishment) ashore they went, and were in pieces in a moment ; notwithstanding which I believe that most of those in her were saved, they being admirable swimmers in all these parts.

The next morning at 6 of the clock, I found myself within 3 leagues of the Island of Lobos de la Mar, so called from there being two which go by that name near one another, but the other being much nearer the land, is called for distinction Lobos de Tierra. The first of these was our appointed rendezvous with the *Mercury* ; but standing into the road, and not seeing her there, I sent Mr. Randall, the second Lieutenant, with two crosses to be set up over two bottles to be buried in the beach, each of which contained a letter to Capt. Hatley, as follows.

'To Capt. Simon Hatley.

'SIR,

'I have in company a ship I took out of the road of 'Guanchaco, who gives certain advice of a rich ship lying 'at Payta ; therefore I make the best of my way thither, 'desiring you'll make no stay here ; there will I cruize till 'you join us, which you must do with all the expedition 'you can before Guayaquil is alarmed. I hear Capt. 'Clipperton has taken several ships on this coast, and we are 'told there are two Spanish men of war to leeward. Ob-'serve that the ship I have in company has no top-gallant-'sails, and that I have added a mizen top-gallant-sail to our 'ship.

'If we are obliged to leave Payta, which I will not do 'without the greatest necessity, you will find us at one of the 'places you mentioned, or at Point Arena, where your ships '(the *Duke* and *Duchess*) formerly lay, expecting the most 'expeditious dispatch you can make. Yesterday I chased 'a small vessel ashore, which came out of the road of 'Cheripe, which I take to be an advice-boat which gives 'me hopes we shall make some hand of it at Payta.

'SIR,

'I am, &c.

'GEO. SHELVOCKE, SEN.'

The bottles were buried, and the crosses were set up, not thinking at the time to what little purpose.

These islands situated in about 7 deg. of South latitude, within sight of the Continent, look, when beheld from the sea, like continued rocks ; there is not the least verdure to be seen on them, and when you are ashore, the ground is burnt to that degree, that the surface of it appears like a

cinder. Here are on the beach great numbers of seals, of a much larger size than those at Juan Fernandes, which smell very nauseously, and are of a much fiercer nature, and not so easily driven away as at the abovementioned place. Here are also plenty of *Guanoes*[1] and carrion-crows, which, with their red gills, as they sit perching among the rocks, bear the exact resemblance of a turkey ; and here is likewise a certain fowl, not much unlike a teal, which were so tame as to let my people knock them down with their hats. As to the island itself, we saw nothing worth notice, except the harbour, which lyes N.W. by W. and S.E. by E. and is a convenient place to careen, but affords neither wood nor water. Here is a spacious rocky cave, the retreat of the seals, whose continual howlings ecchoing all around the obscure grotto, render it a place of as much horror as the imagination of man can feign.

Having done everything necessary to direct the *Mercury* in joining us again, I continued coasting to the Northward, till I had got a-breast of the island, called Lobos de Payta, from its proximity to the port of that name ; which was on the 8th of *March* 1720. From hence I sent Mr. Randall, the second Lieutenant, in the launch to discover the situation of the Cove of Payta, and to see if there were any ships there, under the covert of the night; since I could not venture in with the ship in the dark ; but it proving wet rainy weather, (a thing very uncommon on the coast of Peru, insomuch that the Spaniards affirm it never rains there) they could perceive nothing like a town. They had a negroe with them who had been there several times, who said he was sure that we had got to the wrong place. Upon this every one agreed, that the highland we saw to the North-

[1] Sea-birds, from the Spanish *guanae*.

ward of us was the Saddle of Payta, which in the end we found to be the Sierra, or highland of Motopa, but it was too late that we were convinced of this mistake ; for we could not hinder ourselves from being driven by the wind and current so far to the Northward of Cape Blanco, as to cost us twelve tedious days to regain the ground we lost in 3 hours.

CHAPTER VII

CAPTURE OF PAYTA, ON THE COAST OF NORTHERN PERU, AND SHIPWRECK ON JUAN FERNANDES

Monday, 21st of *March* 1720. I came up with the Point of Parina 7 leagues to the Northward of Payta, and then steered as directly as the wind would permit us for Payta. At 3 in afternoon we saw Pena Oradado, or the hole in the rock ; and in an hour afterwards entered the Cove of Payta with French colours flying ; there was a small ship at anchor there with her foremast out, and maintopmast unrigged. Upon the sight of us they sent a boat from the shore to her, for which reason my launch was manned, and sent under the command of Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, to hinder them from carrying any thing of value to the town. They soon returned after having left the agent and 5 more in possession of her, who found nothing in her but timber, and a little jerked beef. I came to an anchor before it was dark in 7 fathom water, about three quarters of a mile from the town, but was obliged to leave the *St. David* to cruise off the Saddle of Payta, she having no anchors to come to with. The taking this town being considered in the scheme of our voyage, as a matter of great importance, I consulted with my officers, concerning the properest methods of doing it. The place appeared to be indifferently large and populous, and it was very probable there might be some land forces to defend a place so well known as this, which is the rendezvous of most ships coming from Panama and Callao. However, I landed with 46 men at two of the clock the

next morning, leaving Mr. Coldsea, the master, and some others, not only to look after the negroes we had, who ought not to be trusted with the ship by themselves, but also to bring the ship nearer in, that we might the more expeditiously embark what plunder we should get. Being now ashore, I marched up to the great church without meeting any opposition, and indeed found the town entirely deserted by the inhabitants. At daylight we saw great bodies of men on the hills on each side of us, who I expected when they had viewed our strength, would have paid us a visit ; but found that, as we marched up the hill towards them, we drove them before us. All this time no prisoners fell into our hands but an old Indian and a boy, who told me Capt. Clipperton had been here some time before, to set some prisoners ashore, who assured them, that he would do them no injury, nor give them any trouble. But the inhabitants not thinking fit to trust him, had removed all their effects up to the mountains, amongst which was part of the King's treasure, amounting to 400000 pieces of eight, in the possession of the Governour ; which would have been a fine booty, had Capt. Clipperton been willing to accept of it, since it is certain that he would have met with no more difficulty in subduing this place than I did. But suddenly, upon hearing a gun fired I halted, and sent to know the meaning of it, and word was brought me, that the ship was ashore ; which forced me to hurry off with some precipitation, carrying off with us the *Union-flag*, which I had caused to be planted in the church-yard ever since sun rising ; as we reimbarqued, the enemy came running down the hills, hollowing after us. When I came aboard, I found her entirely afloat, but within her breadth of the rocks ; the water being smooth I soon warped her off

again ; after which we returned to take possession of the town in the manner we had done before, and the Spaniards peaceably retired up the hills again. The reason of this accident with the ship was that the master having weighed the anchor before day-light, he had but little wind, and was caught astays, and whilst he was endeavouring to fill his sails again, it suddenly fell calm, and he was almost ashore before he could drop an anchor. But this being happily over, the remainder of the day was spent in shipping off what plunder we had got, which consisted in hogs, fowls, brown and white calavances, beans, Indian corn, wheat, flour, sugar, and as much cocoa-nut as we were able to stow away, with pans, and other conveniences for preparing it, so that we were supplyed with breakfast meat for the whole voyage, and full of provisions of one kind or other. In the afternoon there came a messenger to know what I would take for the ransom of the town and ship ; to which I answered, that I would have 10000 pieces of eight, and those to be paid in 24 hours, if he intended to save the town, or ship either. At 8 the next morning I received a letter from the Governour, signifying that mine being writ in French he, nor any about him, could understand the contents of it ; but that if I would let him know my demands in Latin or Spanish, I should not fail of a satisfactory answer. In the afternoon I sent one of the quarter deck guns ashore, which being mounted at our guard, was fired at sun set, midnight, and break of day.

Betimes the next morning the messenger returned with an answer, (together with the captain of the ship in the road) to mine of yesterday. Upon hearing of their arrival I went ashore to treat with them ; but the Governour gave me to understand in plain terms, that he neither could, nor would

ransom the town, and did not care what I did with it, so that I spared the churches : but I threatened that the town should be reduced to ashes without any regard to churches, or anything else ; tho' I never designed to destroy any place reserved to sacred uses ; at the same time the Spanish Captain had notice given to him, that if he had an inclination to save his ship from the flames, he must ransom her without delay ; which he promised to do in 3 hours. But all this while they were sensible of the storm which was ready to overtake us, and had seen their Admiral, who in the night had got close under the high-land, within a league of the cove, which our look-outs could not discover, till he was within gun-shot of our ship. But to return to my subject, having received this negative answer, and got every thing that might be any ways serviceable to us out of town, I instantly ordered it to be set on fire in two or three places ; the houses being extremely dry consumed away apace. But no sooner was Payta in a blaze, but those on board made signals for me to come off, and kept incessantly firing towards the mouth of the harbour. Upon which I ordered all hands off, and went first on board myself in a canoe, with three men, and before I had got half way, saw a large ship lying with her fore-top-sail aback, with a Spanish flag flying at her foretopmast-head. At this prospect two of my three people were ready to sink, and had it not been for my boatswain I should not have been able to fetch the ship. When I looked back on the town, I could not forbear wishing that I had not been so hasty ; for I could not imagine that the Admiral would have been so imprudent as he was in lying to so long as he did ; for had he held his way, he might have been on board the *Speedwell* long enough before I could, and have taken possession

of her without any to resist them but 8 or 9 white faces and twelve negroes. Here I cannot in justice pass over in silence the signal service which Mr. Coldsea, the master, did at this time, to whose conduct it was owing that we had not an immediate end put to our voyage; for as the Admiral was coming in upon us with all his sails spread, Mr. Coldsea, by the assistance of those aboard, fired at him so smartly that he stopped the enemy's carreer, who did not expect such a warm reception, and therefore apprehending we should have hot work, brought his ship to, that he might put himself in a very unnecessary condition of making a vigorous attack. This inactivity of the enemy gave me a fine opportunity of reaching aboard, which I had no sooner done, than I directed them in clearing the ship (which was partly done already) and loosing all the sails, and making all other requisite preparations to receive the Admiral. In the mean time my officers ashore being unwilling to leave the gun behind them, which we had mounted in town, were so long before they could get it into the boat, that I began to be afraid that the Spaniard would attack us, before the launch would be able to row aboard. But he was not in such a hurry, thinking that I could not well pass by him, and therefore suffered my men to come off, who were about 50 in number, but was within less than pistol shot of us before they had all got into the ship; upon which, we cut our cable, and our ship falling the wrong way, I had but just room enough to fill clear of him. Being now close by one another, his formidable appearance struck an universal damp on every one's spirits; some of my people in coming off, were for jumping into the water, and swimming ashore, as one actually did. But now when they saw a fine Europe built ship of 50 guns, the disproportion was so great be-

tween us, that there could be no hopes of escaping him. Being under his lee, I endeavoured to get into shoal water, but he becalmed and confined me for the greatest part of an hour, handling me very roughly with his cannon, but made little use of small arms : he never had patience to let us be quite along his side, but whenever he was ready with his fire, he gave his ship the starboard helm to bring as many of his guns as he could to bear on us, and, at the same time, kept me out of the true wind. We failed not to make the briskest returns we could ; but the misfortune was, that in the precipitate confusion of getting off from the town, most of our small arms were wet, so that it was late before they were of any use. During this, there was a confused scene ashore, of the town on fire, and the people who had flocked down the hills to extinguish it, some of which answered the end of their coming, whilst others were more earnestly employed in beholding the engagement. I was long in suspence and despair of getting away from the Spaniard, and could foresee nothing but that we should be torn in pieces by him, and longed for an opportunity to try our heels with him, whilst our masts were standing. I expected every minute that they would board us, and upon hearing a hollowing amongst them, and seeing their fore-castle, &c. full of men (for till then I had not seen the head of one, except through the ports) I concluded they had now come to a resolution of entering us ; but I presently saw that the occasion of these acclamations was their having shot down our ensign-staff, upon which they (seeing our ensign trailing in the water) were in hopes we had struck, but I soon undeceived them, by spreading a new ensign on the mizen-shrouds ; upon sight of which they lay as snug as before, and held their way close upon our quarter ; at last, design-

ing to do our business at once, they clapped their helm well a starboard, to bring the whole broad-side to point at us ; but their fire had little or no effect, all stood fast with us, and they muzzled themselves[1]; by which I had time both to get a head, and to windward of him before he could fill again, and found that if our masts (which were by this time but slenderly supported) would bear what sail we had aboard, we should soon steal away from him. After this he was in a great hurry, getting his spritsail-yard[2] fore and aft, threatening us very hard, and plying us with his fore-chase. But we soon were out of his reach, and all hands were immediately employed in repairing our damages. This ship was called the *Peregrine*, of 56 guns, and upwards of 450 men.

During this fight we had not a man killed or wounded, although the enemy often hulled us, and once in particular, a shot coming into one of our ports, dismounted one of our guns between decks, tearing off the nut of the gun, and broke itself into a great many pieces, and flew fore and aft in the midst of a crowd of people, without hurting one of them ; our stern was also much shattered, and our rigging and sails were mightily disabled ; our mainmast was a little wounded, yet stood a good while with only one good shroud to support it ; our fore-mast fared but little better, yet I kept all the canvas, except the main top-gallant-sail, at hard bats-end. An unlucky shot took the bow of our launch, as she lay upon the quarter, and set fire to some cartridges of powder (which were negligently left in her) which blew away her moorings, and we lost her. Seeing

[1] Ceased fire.

[2] A spar slung under the bowsprit, by which boarders could enter the enemy ship.

a great smoke arise on the quarter, I first imagined that this had happened within board. In short, in about 3 glasses we got quite clear of him, and the Admiral tacked, stood in for Payta, and we shortned sail. None could have made a narrower escape from an enemy, considering the vast difference between us, as to force. He (the Spaniard) had 56 guns, we, on the contrary, had but 20 mounted ; they had 450 men, we, on our part, did not exceed 73, and 11 negroes and 2 Indians included in that number. He had farther this vast odds over us of being in a settled readiness, whilst we were in the utmost distraction. Add to all this our small arms being useless by being wet ; and moreover in the middle of the engagement, one third of my people, instead of fighting, were hard at work to make a farther preparation for an obstinate resistance ; particularly the carpenter and his crew were busied in making ports for stern-chase which (as it happened) we made no use of. Upon the whole we had the good fortune of escaping this danger, which was the more to be dreaded, because, as we had set fire to the town, they were probably so exasperated upon the account of the churches, which I never intended to destroy, that if I had fallen into their hands, its certain we should have had but uncomfortable quarters ; nevertheless it was in reality a most unfortunate disaster ; the loss of my boat and anchor were irreparable, and may be said to be the cause of that scene of trouble, which will take up the remainder of this book ; for we had now but one anchor, that at Payta being the third we had lost, and were entirely destitute of a boat of any kind.

I have been since informed that we placed some shots very well, and that we killed and wounded several of the enemy.

But to return to our story, At 5 the same evening we saw a sail under our lee-bow, which I took to be our prize we had left cruiseing for us near the Saddle of Payta, we therefore stood to the Westward all night, and the next morning saw two sail a-stern of us. I tacked, and stood towards them, and in a little time could see that one of them was standing for Payta, the other kept stemming with us, but the nearer I approached to her, the less I liked her, and could not but think it adviseable to about ship, and crowd[1] from her. However, she gained upon us, and advanced near enough to shew us that she was the *Brilliant*, the Admiral's consort ; she was a French built ship of 36 guns, manned with people of that nation, and other Europeans. She was handsomely rigged, which is rare to be seen in these parts, and sailed almost two foot for our one, so that, notwithstanding that we had a calm almost all the heat of the day, she would come near us apace upon every little breeze. But night coming on, I made use of the old stratagem (I thought it might be new here) of turning a light adrift in a half tub, instead of a boat, darkning one part of the lanthorn, that it might not appear a continued[2] light, and altered my course. As the day broke, I handed all my sails, and in full day-light could perceive nothing of her. This was the ship wherein Betagh, my late Capt. of Marines, was so much respected, by whose advice it was (as I have been told) that the Admiral ordered his consort to ply up to windward to Lobos, our first place of rendezvous, whilst he himself came to Payta, in quest of us. This separation, though intended as the surest means of catching us, proved the preservation of us.

[1] Spread more sail.
[2] Continuous.

Being thus closely pursued, I took an offing of 30 leagues, and then brought to, to consider the unhappy state of our present condition. Having weighed every thing very maturely, our circumstances seemed to me to be in an extream melancholy posture, being in the dark, as to knowing how, and where to meet the *Success*, my consort; *secondly*, An embargo was laid on all shipping to leeward for the term of 6 months (as I was informed at Payta) and, in the next place, our prize, which I designed to make a fireship of, was taken by the *Brilliant*, as I could plainly discover; the consequence of which would be, that the enemy would learn from her crew our places of rendezvous, and, as much as they could, inform them of our farther designs; this alone would have been sufficient to have made me alter all my measures; and since I had but one anchor, and no boat at all, the views I had at the town of Guayaquil were vanished, where, if I had not met with Clipperton, I proposed to make some attempt, having been advised that several great ships of value lay up that river under an embargo. I had an old Indian pilot who had lived there many years, who merrily told me, that I should be sure to find the inhabitants ready, but, continued he, it will be to run away. This project would have certainly been attended with a profitable event, if the *Mercury* had joined me in any reasonable time, whose absence therefore gave me a vast uneasiness, being ignorant of what detained them.

However, it being impossible to alter our present condition, without using proper means towards it, I called all my officers together, to let them know that it was my opinion that we had a much better prospect to windward than to leeward, for the reasons before observed; but

especially on the account of the embargo hereabouts, and the necessity they were under of trading to Chili, where we should not be in the least expected, and should, in the most effectual manner, escape the enemy's men of war, who would doubtless be searching for us very strictly to leeward, while we had the whole Chilenian coast to range on ; that they would be so far from thinking of pursuing us to the Southward, that it would appear to them as the highest improbability that we should beat up 700 leagues to windward, to water at Juan Fernandes ; after which we might cruise out the whole season on the Conception, Valparaiso and Coquimbo traders, amongst whom we should be stocked with anchors, cables, boats, and a vessel to make a fire-ship of, on which I mightily depended, since I could see but little probability of joining the *Success*. I also proposed before I left the coast of Chili, to take the town of la Serena, or Coquimbo ; this being universally approved of, we got our tacks aboard, and stretched to windward.

My intentions after this were for the coast of Mexico, there to run the height of the Tres Marias and California, as the most likely place to meet the *Success* ; both of which places would have been commodious, the first for salting turtle, and the last for wooding and watering ; there I should also be ready in the season to lay in the tract of the Manila ship, which, if I should have the fortune to meet, and (having a fire-ship) I would have tryed what I could have done with her. But if I could not have prevailed, I must have contented myself with cruising on the Peruvian ships, which bring silver to Aquapulco to purchase the Indian, and Chinese commodities, which the Manila ship brings thither. But these designs were never executed but

in the imagination, for every league we sailed, we approached nearer and nearer to the catastrophe, which put an end to all thoughts of the foregoing designs, and changed the face of our affairs, from a ship as well governed as could be hoped for in so remote a part, and on such an account as we were upon, to a mutinous confusion and disorder.

Monday, 28th of *March*. The carpenter began to build a boat to water the ship.

Thursday, 31st of *March*. As they were pumping the ship, the water which came out of the well, was not only in a greater quantity than usual, but was also as black as ink, which made me judge that some water came at our powder, and accordingly going into the powder-room, heard the water come in like a little sluice, which had quite spoiled the greatest part of our powder, so that we only saved the quantity of six barrels, which I ordered to be stowed away in the bread-room. It pleased God that we had fair weather, otherwise it would have been a hard matter for us to have kept ourselves above water. We found the leak to be on the larboard side, under the lower cheek of the head, occasioned by a shot which had lodged there, which falling out, left room for a stream of water ; we brought the ship by the stern, and with great difficulty stopped it securely.

At this time we had a large stock of provisions, and every one lived as well as they could have wished, each man having a quart of chocolate, and 3 ounces of very good rusk to breakfast every morning, and fresh meat, or fresh fish every day, of which we had such a plenty about the ship, that we could almost always take our choice of dolphin or albicore.

6th of *May* 1720. We made the westermost of the Islands of Juan Fernandes, the body of it bearing N.E. by N. distant 12 leagues ; and the day after the carpenters com-

pleated the boat, which would carry 3 hogsheads. On the 11th, we saw the great Island of Juan Fernandes, bearing E. half S. by observation, the body of it lies in the latitude 33 deg. 25 min. South. Here I plyed off and on till the 21st. but could not get off as much water as we daily expended, which made me think of anchoring in the road for a few hours, and in order to it, I prepared 20 tons of casks to raft ashore, then worked in, and anchored, according to the best directions I had, in 40 fathom water, and made a warp, which was of the length of 3 hawsers and half, which was made fast to the rocks to steady the ship, and by which we hauled our raft of cask ashore and aboard. The very next morning we were ready to go to sea, but had not the least opportunity in 4 days.

25th of *May*. A hard gale of wind came out of the sea upon us (a thing very uncommon as has been reported) and brought in a great tumbling swell, so that in a few hours our cable (which was never wet before) parted: a dismal accident this, there being no means to be used, or the least prospect of avoiding immediate destruction. But providence interposed in our behalf so far, that if we had struck but a cable's length farther to the Eastward, or Westward of the place where we did, we must inevitably have perished. As soon as she touched the rocks we were obliged to hold fast by some part, or other, of the ship, otherwise the violence of the shocks she had in striking, might have been sufficient to have thrown us all out of her into the sea. Our main-mast, fore-mast, and mizen-top-mast went all away together. In short, words can't express the wretched condition we were in, or the surprize we were under of being so unfortunately shipwrecked, or the dread we had upon us of starving on the uninhabited isle we were thrown upon,

in case we should escape the sea. We had reflections enough to depress our spirits ; but the work we had in hand, which was no less than to endeavour the saving of our lives, (which were as yet in great suspence), made every body active.

By William Betagh

WHERE I resume the history of my Captain, whom I left cruising off Payta ; while Hatley, I, and the rest of us were taken by Admiral Midranda, otherwise called General of the South Sea.

Shelvocke having hitherto failed of making his fortune, begins now to think it too late, at least for this season. The scheme of our voyage is at an end ; the enemy is alarmed ; their ships all laid up, except the two Spanish men of war which are in quest of the English privatiers : and Shelvocke probably would now be glad of his commodore Clipperton's company. But finding as he says, his circumstances to be in an extreme melancholy posture ; he sails back to windward, and resolves upon a new experiment, which was to get rid of the owners ship, and cruise upon a new bottom : thereby thinking to intitle himself to all he should get, exclusive of us prisoners and the gentlemen at home. And this is Captain Shelvocke's law and conscience, and the real shift he now makes to dispute it with the gentlemen who fitted him out.

Accordingly he sails to Fernandes, where he arrived the beginning of *May*, being winter in that hemisphere. He was too good a seaman to believe he could ride it out the remaining part of the winter, in a wild road, destitute of any kind of shelter, and exposed to strong gusts of northerly winds which frequently blow there in that season : he well knew there was no meddling with the coast for the enemies men of war : therefore he makes half the tour of the island, seemingly to push her into some creek ; after which, he

comes to in the usual place, with only one anchor to trust to ; for he had taken care to have no more. Here the ship rode several days safe enough : and during his stay, seventeen of his men are sent ashore, while others were imployed in getting off water to favour a false design of going to sea again : and under this pretence of watering, both now and after, many things of value were secretly carryed ashore, which the people in general wondered to see there, and could not imagine who brought them. However, the more effectually to put his project in execution, he weighs from this place, and comes to anchor close in shore : upon which his people unanimously fear some very odd mischievous design, and suddenly recollect how they had often heard him say, That it was not difficult living at Fernandes, if a man should accidentally be thrown there, since Mr. Selkirk had continued upon it four years by himself.

Possest with these things, the people were amazed, that their Captain would leave a clear berth and good anchoring to venture farther in, where it was foul and rocky ; and where if the cable parted there could be but little hopes to save the ship : whereas in their first situation they had clear anchoring, room and drift enough to get their tacks aboard, to claw it off either to the East or Westward. As soon as the anchor was down, Mr. Brook the first Lieutenant advised flinging two of their heaviest guns, which, in case of losing the anchor, might bring her up a little 'till they could set the sails : But Shelvocke rejected all these things with a stedfast tranquillity, and now says he had no opportunity of getting to sea in four days, tho' he was ready : which I am sure is an absurdity wants clearing up. Moreover, how can Shelvocke impose this sham readiness on mankind, when his seventeen hands are all at this time on the island, and

who he owns came down so seasonably to his assistance, as soon as the ship touched the shore ? Here, he says, a hard gale of wind came from the sea, which brought in such a tumbling swell, that in a few hours the cable parted, the ship struck, and all the masts went overboard.

This is the plausible reason he gives for losing his ship, being a wind raised only in his brain, and of his own invention : for 'tis a most notorious falsehood, to say, there was any gale when the cable parted : all his people have in one word assured me and many others to the contrary. And Shelvocke very well knew, that if he should be catched by a gale in that perilous roadstead, and so poorly found with ground tackle, they must all inevitably have perished, by reason of the prodigious breach the sea makes in any thing of weather against the sunken rocks and stones all along the shore. He therefore took care to secure all their lives by destroying his ship in fine serene weather, which the ingenious captain performed by bringing a spring on his cable, with which he hove his ship's broadside against the swell, and kept her in that position 'till the cable was tore asunder. Mr. Dod, who pretends not to be a seaman, says, that about three hours before the ship went ashore, some hands were at work on the quarter deck hawling in a hawser which was made fast to the cable ; and that he inquired of Gilbert Henderson the gunner, what that was for ? Henderson answered him, that if he would be rightly informed, he must go and ask the captain. To confirm this, several of his people have made *affidavit*, that it blew no wind at all, that every soul of them got commodiously ashore, and that it's their belief he lost the ship on purpose : and its remarkable, he made not one tryal to prevent it.

Soon as the cable parted, Mr. Laport his third Lieutenant

seeing immediate ruine, cryed out, Set the foresail ; hoping thereby to do some good : and while Edmund Philips and others were actually upon the yard, Shelvocke hastily ordered them down, and taking the helm in his hand, said, Ne're mind it, boys ; stand all fast, I'll lay her on a feather bed ; which, as it proved a plaguy hard one, shews his great indifference as to the event of the ship.

He brags of his being thirty years an officer in the navy : what then must we say to a man of such experience, who will lavishly destroy two or three ships, and save not an anchor and cable for a time of need ? There's nothing can excuse it, but owning what I have been proving. Either way it's very bad : his judgment and his honesty being both in great danger.

Another circumstance comes in here——When we met La Jonquiere at St. Catherine's, Shelvocke procured of him a pair of smith's bellows and forge, which at that time we could see no manner of occasion for : but without them, 'tis now evident, he could never have made bolts, spikes, nails and other iron work for a barque able to carry fifty or sixty men to sea ; and in short, without the bellows, he could never have begun such a piece of work at all.

CHAPTER VIII

OCCURRENCES ON THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDES

It was happy for us that our masts fell all over the off side, which gave us room to make a raft ; by which means (and having hands ashore, who had been there before the wind came on, and who came down on the beach to assist us) we were all saved, except one man ; I myself made a very narrow escape. In this surprize the first thing I took care of was my commission, and remembering the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, I got most of it up, with about 7 or 8 bags of bread ; these we secured to windward, and saved the ship not coming to pieces immediately in a few minutes after she first struck, she was full of water, so that the surgeon's chest being stowed below, there was little or nothing perserved out of that ; we saved 2 or 3 compasses, and some of our mathematical instruments and books. Before it was quite dark we were all ashore, in a very wet uncomfortable condition, no place to have recourse to for shelter from the boisterous wind and rain, except the trees ; nothing to chear up our spirits after the fatigue and hazard in getting from the wreck to the rocks, and no other prospect, but that, after having suffered much in this uninhabited place, we might, in process of time, be taken away by some ship or other. Our ears were now saluted by the melancholy howlings of inumerable seals on the beach, who lay so thick that we were obliged to clear our way of them as we went along, and nothing presented itself to our sight but rocky precipices, inhospitable woods, dropping with the rain, lofty mountains, whose tops were hid

by thick clouds, and a tempestuous sea, which had reduced us to the low state we were now in. Thus were we without any one thing necessary in life, nor so much as a seat to sit upon to rest our limbs except the cold wet ground, which, as far as we could see, was also like to be our bed and pillow, and proved to be so.

That evening all the officers came to bear me company, and to consult how we should contrive to get some necessaries out of the wreck, if she was not quite in pieces by the next morning, and came to a resolution of losing no time in endeavouring to recover what we could out of the wreck, and having, by this time, lighted a fire, wrapt themselves up in what they could get, laid round it, and, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, slept very soundly ; and, the next morning, getting up with the first glimpse of day-light, looked at each other like men awakened out of a dream ; so great, and so sudden was the melancholy change of our condition, that we could scarce believe our senses.

I went immediately among the people, to set them to work in doing what we proposed the night before ; but they were so scattered, that there was no such thing as getting them all together ; so that, in short, all opportunities were lost of regaining anything but some of our small arms which were fished up ; not only which, but also all our beef and pork might have been retrieved, could I have prevailed on them to set about their work in earnest; but instead of that they were employed in building tents, and making other preparations to settle themselves here; and, in the mean time, the wreck was entirely destroyed, and every thing that was in her lost, except one cask of beef, and one of *Farina de Pao*, which were washed whole on the strand. Thus were our provisions of all kinds irrecoverably gone, and whatever else

might have been of use to us, except what I have already mentioned. I should have observed, that I saved 1100 dollars belonging to the gentlemen owners, which were kept in my chest in the great cabbin ; the rest being in the bottom of the bread-room for security, could not possibly be come at. I need not say how disconsolate my reflections were on this sad accident, which had, as it were, thrown us out from the rest of the world, without any thing to support us but the uncertain product of a desolate uncultivated island, situated (I may justly say) in the remotest part of the earth ; and, at least, 90 leagues distant from the continent of Chili, which was in the possession of the Creolian Spaniards, who have always been remarkable for their ungenerous treatment of their enemies, and we could have no better views at present than of falling into their hands sooner or later. But since we must now be obliged to suffer all such hardships, as would be consequent to our shipwreck, it behoved me, in the first place, (since it was inevitably certain that our stay here would be very long) to use such means as offered towards the preservation of our healths, and to think of some oeconomy to be observed amongst the people in relation to the distribution of such quantities of provisions as should, from time to time, be got, &c.

I took some pains in finding out a convenient place to set up my tent ; in this I not only regarded the situation, in respect to the weather, but also the security of it from being easily surprized by the enemy, and, at length, found a commodious spot of ground, not half a mile from the sea, and a fine run of water within a stone's cast on each side of it, with firing near at hand, and trees proper for building our dwellings ; the people settled within call about me in as good a manner as they could, and having a cold season

coming on, some of them thatched their dwellings, and others covered them with the skins of seals and sea-lions, whilst others got up water-buts, and slept in them under the cover of a tree. Having thus secured ourselves as well as possible against the inclemency of the approaching winter, we used to pass our time in the evening in making a great fire before my tent, round which my officers, in general, assembled, employing themselves quietly in roasting craw-fish in the embers; sometimes bewailing our unhappy state, and sinking into despair; at other times feeding themselves up with hopes that something might yet be done to set us afloat again. But as words alone were not sufficient, I began to think it full time to look about me, to see if it was really practicable for us to build such a vessel as would carry us all off from this island. Therefore (as the most proper man) I consulted first with the carpenter; but was astonished at his cold indifference; when he answered me, that *he could not make brick without straw*, and walked away from me in a surly humour; from him I went to the armourer, whom I found at the wreck, and asked him what he could do for us in his way, that might contribute towards the building of a small vessel; to which he answered, that he hoped he could do all the iron-work that was necessary for such a thing; that he had, with much labour, got his bellows out of the wreck that morning, with 4 or five spadoes, which would afford him steel, and that there could be no want of iron along the shore, and that he did not doubt but we should find a great many useful things when we came to set about it in good earnest, and desired that I would, without loss of time, order some charcoal to be made for him, whilst he sat up his forge. Upon this I called all hands together, and gave it to them, as my opinion, that there was a great shew

of probability that we should be able to effect what every one had been hitherto wishing for, *viz.* a vessel to transport us from this scene of meanness and poverty. But withal gave them to understand that it would undoubtedly be a laborious task, and would require the utmost assistance of all of them; and, to be brief, put the question to them, Whether we should make a beginning or no? To which they, with one voice, consented, and promised to be extreamly diligent in this important work, and begged of me to give them instructions how to proceed. I then ordered those who were wooding before the ship was lost to bring in their axes, that I might send them to cut wood to make charcoal, while the rest went down to the wreck to get the bowsprit ashore, of which I intended to make the keel, and prevailed on the carpenter to go with me to fix on the properest place to build upon. In a word, the people found a great many useful materials about the wreck, and amongst the rest, the top mall,[1] which being made fast to the head of the main-mast, was washed ashore, and, though of no small weight, would not, at this time, have been exchanged for its weight in gold.

So, on the 8th of *June* 1720, we laid the blocks to build upon, and had the bowsprit ready at hand, which the carpenter, for a little while, handled with seeming good temper, but suddenly turning short upon me, as I stood by him, swore an oath, and said he would not strike another stroke upon it, that *he truly would be no body's slave, and thought himself now on a footing with myself*; this unreasonable exclamation provoked me to use him somewhat roughly with my cane. However, I was soon convinced that it would be necessary to use gentler methods with him;

[1] A large hammer used for the topmast-rigging.

for I began to apprehend that he was prompted to it by some of the sad ones amongst us, and therefore offered him a reward, and came to an agreement to give him a four pistole piece, as soon as the stem and stern-post were up, and 100 pieces of eight when the bark was finished; and the money to be committed to the keeping of any one he should name, till that time. This done, he went to work on the keel, which was to be 30 foot in length, her breadth by the beam 16 foot, and seven foot depth of hold. We were very tedious in chalking her out, and met with such difficulties in the woods before we could get her frame down, that I dreaded we should never be able to surmount them; for as every tree did not afford timber of a fit turn or size wanted, we were obliged sometimes to go a great way from the water-side, and after having cut it down, it must be dragged up steep hills, and other fatigues which tired the people to a great degree. But in two months time we made a tolerable show, which was, in a great measure, owing to the diligence and ingenuity of Popplestone, my armourer, who did not lose a minute's time from the work of his hands and contrivance of his head. This assiduity of his, I dare say, was greatly owing to the just sense he had of our forlorn state, with which he seemed to be very much affected. This man made us a little double headed maul, hammers, chisles, files, and a sort of gimblets, which performed very well; nay, he even made a bullet-mould, and an instrument to bore our cartouch-boxes, which we made of the trucks of gun-carriages which washed ashore; these we covered with seal-skins, and contrived so as to be both handy and neat, and had enabled himself to perform any iron-work the carpenter wanted, and did not only do us this service in his way, but also began and finished a large

serviceable boat, which was what we mightily stood in need of.

But I must leave the work to inform my reader how we went on in other respects, and therefore must observe, that in the beginning, for a few days, the people behaved themselves very regularly and diligently, half of them working one day, and half another, and began to relish their diet indifferently well, and seemed to be easier and easier under our misfortunes every day ; they treated me with as much regard as I could wish, and, in a body, thanked me for the prospect they had of a deliverance. I, on my part, never failed to encourage them by adding to such stories of things, or actions, that I had known or heard of, to have been done by the like number of men in distresses of this kind ; and always pressed them to stick close to the work, that we might get the bark ready in time, and always assured them, that I did not doubt but Providence would direct us in the way of some of the trading-ships, which we could easily take, and that, to our comfort, we had three of the best ports in Chili within 120 leagues of us. This instilled new life into them, and they often declared, with one voice, that they would do their utmost to finish her with all expedition, which was a most agreable hearing. But the time soon arrived, when instead of enjoying peace and quiet, which was the only blessing we could expect, and be morally certain of, as our affairs stood at present, we became a prey to confusion and outragious disorder, so that it was a miracle that ever we got off from this place by any assistance of our own ; for after they had gone through the most laborious part of the work, they entirely neglected it, and my officers deserted from my conversation to herd with the meanest of the ship's company. I was now confirmed in the

suspicion I had had some time before, that there was a black design a kindling, which was now ready to break out into a destructive flame ; for when I met, by chance, any of my officers, if I asked them what they were about, and why they would act so contrary to their duty, as to divert the people from their work, one would answer, that he did not know whether he should go off the island, or no ; if my bundle of boards was ready ; and others told me that they did not care how matters went, they could shift for themselves as well as the rest, and in talking with the meaner sort, some would be surly, and say nothing, and others truly would be slaves to nobody, but would willingly do as the rest did ; so that it may be easily imagined how I passed my hours at this time.

In the midst of these troublesome confusions I ordered my son to secure my commission in some dry place of the woods or rocks, if such could be found ; for I well remembered how Dampier had been served in these seas.[1] At length I one afternoon missed all the people, and could see no body but Mr. Adams, our surgeon, Mr. Henry, the agent, and my son, and Mr. Dodd, Lieutenant of Marines who, for some reasons, best known to himself, had feigned lunacy, and had a mind to act the mad-man. I could not devise what could have become of them all ; but at night was informed, that they had assembled at the great tree (as they called it) to consult together, where they had formed a new regulation, and new articles whereby they had excluded the gentlemen adventurers in England from having any part of what we should take for the future, and

[1] Dampier had been arrested by the Dutch, for Clipperton had sailed away with the Admiralty commission which proved that he was no pirate, but the commander of a private ship of war.

divested me of the authority of their Captain, and had regulated themselves according to the Jamaica discipline. The chief officers, amongst the rest, had chosen one Morphew (who both made and mended their shoes before the *Speedwell* was lost) to be their champion and speaker. The character of this fellow would be needless here, since enough of it may be found in the East-India Company's journal, in the articles of St. Helena, about the time that a ship's long boat was run away with from thence ; however, this man addressed himself to those, that were present, to acquaint them, that 'they were now their own masters, and 'servants to none, that although Mr. Shelvocke, their 'former Captain, took upon him to command them to do 'this and that, &c. he ought to be made sensible, that who-'ever was their commander now, it was their courtesy that 'made him so. But that, however, Mr. Shelvocke might 'have the refusal, if the majority thought fit, but not else ; 'but at the same time observed to them, that my command 'was too lofty and arbitrary for a private ship, that I should 'have continued in men of war, where people were obliged '*quietly to bear* all hardships imposed upon them, whether 'right or wrong' ; to which some present, who had a regard for me, answered, 'that they never knew, or saw me treat 'any body unjustly or severely, and that however rigid I 'might be, they had no body else to depend on, and that 'they would all do well to consider, how many difficulties 'I had already conducted them through, and that (suppos-'ing we were preserved out of the hands of our enemies) 'how many more were to come no one could tell ; that if 'they expected, or intended, to return to England, it could 'be by no other means than taking a turn round the world, 'and that, in that case, there was none capable to undertake

'the care of them but myself, and reminded them of my 'commission, and the respect due to me upon that, besides 'the protection they would receive from it, should they fall 'into the hands of the Spaniards.' This had some effect on the meaner sort, but they were easily diverted from the thoughts of returning to obedience, by the chief concerned, who were no less than my first Lieutenant Brooks, &c. who had made the forementioned Morphew his confident, even on board the ship; for having served as fore-mast man, the voyage before he was made my Lieutenant, he had contracted such a liking to the fore-castle conversation and caballing, that he became dead to all the civilities I had continually heaped upon him, and now openly, and before privately, preferred the mean despicable familiarity of the common sailors, to any thing he could see in the great cabbin, which had so far gained him the love of the common sailors, who esteemed him as a good humoured considerate officer, that it was no hard matter for Morphew, by the assistance of this gentleman, who had made him his bosom companion, to carry the majority which way he pleased. Besides this, they were again doubly supported by Mr. Randall, my second Lieutenant, who was Brooks's brother-in-law, and others, who forgetting all the obligations they owed to the gentlemen in England, who so easily promoted them to posts, and all the lawful respect due to me, were now running themselves down the descent of ingratitude, and into an irrecoverable damage to their characters and interests. The first, and most remarkable outrage committed by this gang of levellers was committed on Mr. la Porte, my third Lieutenant, whom Morphew assaulted in a barbarous manner, and knocked him down on the beach, whilst Mr. Brooks stood by an eye-witness of this brutality. This being

reported to me, I checked Mr. Brooks for his inhumanity, and upbraided him very warmly; but all the answer I got from him was, that Mr. la Porte should keep a good tongue in his head, and take care how he affronted any body again. By this it was apparent, that all shame and honour was banished from him, when he could suffer one, who was both a brother officer, and a gentleman who had commanded several ships, to be thus cruelly abused. This piece of insolence served as an introduction to what followed, which, I believe, in all its circumstances, is not to be heard of in any former expedition in these seas, or any other; for having met together, as I have already mentioned, and drawn up a scheme and articles to be observed for the time to come, they came at night before my tent, desiring to speak with me; when I came out to them, they gave me a paper into my hand, which began with a preamble to this effect, that, *Whereas the* Speedwell *was cast away* (*mentioning the day of the month and date of the year*) *they were now of consequence at their own disposal, so that their obligations to the owners, and me, were of no validity, the ship being now no more, that therefore they had now thought fit to frame such articles, as would be most conducive to their own interest.* Two of their chief articles were, First, *That what money or plate should hereafter be taken, should be all divided amongst them as soon as it could conveniently be done; and,* secondly, *That in all attacks by sea or land, and every thing else, the people's consent was to be asked in general, every one to have a single vote, and their Captain to have two.* This was the substance of it, as well as I can remember, for I have not seen the paper since. But in the allotment of shares, I found myself reduced from sixty shares to six. I failed not to oppose their measures in the most proper manner I could think of, and

desired to know what I had done to them that imposed so much upon me as to deprive the owners, and myself, of what I thought was our right ; but they answered, that as for the owners, they could not possibly have any thing to do with them now, or require any service from them ; and that, as to myself, I might think myself well off, since the Jamaica captains were allowed but four shares, and they had given me two more, out of the regard they had for me, and thought I was favoured in having the refusal of the command of them, (as they called it) which if I thought fit to accept of, it was well, but first expected that I should sign their articles, otherwise they would not trust themselves under my conduct, because they should always be apprehensive that I had sinister intentions upon them, and should serve them as C——n[1] served some of his men, who (they heard) happening to be taken separately, he denied them, and suffered eight of them to be hanged, as pyrates, before his face.

I was at a loss, not knowing what to do in this dilemma, and was distracted at the thoughts of subjecting myself to the caprices of a giddy mutinous gang of obstinate fellows who were dead to reason, and in a fair way of being hardened in all kinds of wickedness. But upon the whole, I found I was under an indispensable necessity of signing, when I considered the little probability of ever doing otherwise than surrendring, if ever we did get afloat, and I hoped that when things were thus settled, they would turn their thoughts on the work we had begun, for if I had refused it, it was more than probable that we should never have got off from this island, or if the rest had, I should have been forcibly left behind, or they might have used some violence

[1] Clipperton.

towards me for the sake of my commission, and few of them have known who did the fact ; and farther, what opposition could I have made, when my officers were so far from offering their assistance, that they had voluntarily given up their distinctions, and would even seem angry with any of the poor rascals when they, by chance, gave them the title they had formerly born on board the ship, reproving them for it, and telling them, that they did not think themselves officers now, or better men than they were, until the majority had conferred their former, or any other post they thought them fittest for, and had given their consents that their brother officers Mr. la Porte, third Lieutenant, and Mr. Dodd, Lieutenant of Marines, and Mr. Hendry, purser and agent, should be reduced to midshipmen ; I must observe, that Mr. Coldsea, the master, never sided with the rest, nor ever offered to oppose them (perhaps from the improbability he had conceived of doing me any good by it.) In short, having now very unwillingly satisfied them in all I thought they could ask, I recommended to them the vessel we had begun, not doubting but that after this they would have used their constant endeavours to finish her, that they might have an opportunity of putting their project in execution, which they said they would.

But early the next morning, I went down to the beach as usual, expecting to find every one employed, but saw my mistake in having so favourable an opinion of them, for caballing and mutinying seemed to be the only thing they had in view, and it was so agreeable a subject to them to be continually opposing and tyrannizing over their Captain, that I really believe for the pleasure of thinking themselves equal to me, they would contentedly have lived on this desart, at least, as long as I had lived. In short, they once

again retired to the great tree, and I saw none of them, except the carpenter, and two or three more, who, notwithstanding they were abettors of the designs that were carrying on, yet being over byassed by the hopes of some money from me, had attended me in the work pretty diligently, though I can't say that they fatigued themselves much. However, I was now more than ever at my wits end to guess what mischief they possibly might have in their heads, after what they had already done, but they took care I should not be long in suspence about the result of their last meeting; for betimes the next morning they sorrounded my tent, while Morphew and Stewart, their agent, came into me, and told me, that they came in the name of all the people to demand every thing belonging to the gentlemen owners, out of my possession, particularly 750 pieces of eight weight in *Pinna* or virgin silver, a silver dish, weighing 75 ounces, and 250 dollars in money: it may be thought that I did not easily part with it, but they desired I would use no argument, or make any dispute to deliver them what was their own; for as it came out of the wreck, they insisted, that the owners could have nothing to do with it, and they were resolved to have it by some means or other; so, in short, I was obliged to give it up, and they shared it amongst them that very moment, according to their new regulation; after which they entirely destroyed what little power they had given me over them; and the meanest of the crew were taught that they were as good men as I, and that it was unreasonable I should be respected any more than the rest; and sometimes would not allow me a quota of the fish that was caught, wondering that I could not go to catch it for myself; and at best would give my servant that used to fetch it, but the leavings after they had chosen

the best; and Morphew's mess, and some others have sometimes fed on the best fish the sea about us afforded, when I have been obliged to take up with seal, after a hard day's labour on the strand; nay, my officers, amongst the rest, enticed my servants from attending me; and, to compleat their insults, Brooks, first Lieutenant, who used sometimes to eat with me, entirely deserted my table, to join with Morphew to partake of his better diet; upon this I was forced to part with Mr. la Porte, Mr. Dodd, and Mr. Hendry, being no longer able to provide for so many, when I could scarce get any thing to eat myself, so that I had but a slender family, which consisted only of my surgeon, and my son, and a black, who used to kill seals, go a fishing, and get palm cabbage in the mountains for us.

I was now quite tired out with incessant mutinies, and the constant labour I underwent, insomuch, that fearing I never should be able to bring them to any good, I became so desperate as to have willingly embraced an opportunity, if such there could have been, of getting away from them in our yaul, which though it would have been to the last degree hazardous, yet I began to prefer the dangers of the sea, in a small open boat, to what I thought myself exposed to on this place by my ship's company, who, I apprehended, would never rest till they had made themselves entirely their own masters, by privately making away with me; but as this was an undertaking impracticable on many accounts, I became extremely melancholy and pensive, preparing myself for the worst that could happen. They seeing such a change in me, were afraid that as I was a great enemy (with good reason) to their measures, I was now contriving means to subject them again, and bring them to their lawful obedience of me; and therefore did not think themselves

safe whilst I had the arms in my possession, and were determined to get them from me; to this purpose the ring-leaders went publickly from tent to tent, telling their accomplices that I was making a party against them, and designed to leave them on the island, which, considering the advantage I had of the arms, might easily be effected by a few, who might drive them from their dwellings, and force them into the mountains. Having by this groundless story added fewel to the fire, and encreased the aversion and disrespect wherewith they had already exasperated the people against me, they proposed that they should all, in a body, demand their arms from me; which they did without delay, headed by Brooks, Morphew, &c. who, in the presence of all the people, used me with so much impudence and opprobrious language, as never could have been believed to come out of the mouths of men (meaning the officers) who were so many ways obliged to me for the gentleman-like regard wherewith I had treated them all the preceeding part of the voyage; nay, they even went so far as to threaten my son, for only telling Morphew that every one present had not chosen him for their speaker, and had there been any one in the assembly hardy enough to vidicate me, they would have incurred the certain hazard of being beaten. The chief end why I troubled myself with the care of the arms, was, that having them under my eye, I should keep them in good order, and not having above one flint for each musquet, I knew that if they had them, they would render them useless in a little time.

But having gained their point in this, they had the pleasure of squandering away their time, and powder and shot, in firing at cats, or any thing else to waste the ammunition; this put me upon the guard to hinder them, as much

as I could, from taking the powder which lay open under a great tree near my tent ; as to lead, they could get enough of that from the bottom of the wreck, which was all our dependance ; for we had not been able to save above ten pound weight of small shot ; these troubles crowding in upon me on the backs of one another, pressed me too hard to be sustained by so slender a support as I had ; but by intervals I still flattered myself with hopes (I had no other cordial) that I should not only prevail on some of the gravest of them to look on their arms as their only safeguard from the Spaniards ; but also if ever I had them afloat again, that the use they would find of me in extremities would make some reformation amongst them.

I took all opportunities of ringing in their ears, such instances of the Spaniards cruelty towards our country-men, and others in America, as I had collected ; on the other hand, I reminded them how easily we might provide for ourselves, from the experience we already had of the enemy's management at sea ; I had sometimes myself a little comfort in these reflections, but was deprived of all hopes by the tedious advances of our bark, and the little probability I could foresee of finishing her, amongst so many confused hindrances I had hitherto struggled with.

What I have now related is the substance of what occurred from 24th of *May* till 15th of *August* 1720. when we had sight of a large ship, which put us in a great hurry. Before she crossed the bay, I ordered all the fires to be put out, and confined the negroes and Indians, least the ship should be becalmed under the land, and any of them should attempt swimming off to her. I could not tell what to think of her. I conceived it impossible that she should be a man of war, who had had advice of our being lost ; but then if

she should (by chance) stand into the bay, and discover what we were about, and the wreck on the shore, we should soon have the whole force of the kingdom of Chili upon us. However, I was not long under these apprehensions, for she kept away large, and at too great a distance to perceive any thing of us.

On this occasion I got most of the people under arms, and was glad to see so many of them, in some measure, obedient to my command. I, upon this told them, I was pleased to see their arms in such good order ; to which they answered, impertinently, that it was for their own sakes. But before they were dispersed, I told them, that the necessity of our affairs was such, that it required every one to give their assistance, and use their utmost endeavours to get the bark afloat, instead of caballing against their Captain, which would, in the end, be highly prejudicial, whatever thoughts they might have of it at present ; that if we were discovered, all hopes would be gone, and we could reasonably expect no other than to be slaves in some of the mines ; that we had still a great deal of work, and never above 10 of the more considerate, and commonly but 6 or 7 who attended it, and that (as they knew) to shew an example, I was always one of the number.

But they were so deaf to all I could say, and so wilfully insensible of the impendent destruction which was likely to fall upon us, that the more I made use of reason to reclaim them, and the more I remonstrated to them the ill consequences that would be the attendants of their continual mutinies, and the more I encouraged them, by any future prospect of advantage, the more they ran into the extreams of a confused distraction, and interruption of any thing that might be of visible service to them in any

respect ; a convincing instance of this, I am now going to relate.

The very next day after seeing the forementioned ship, they were divided amongst themselves. The question started was, Whether the bark should be carryed on, or whether they should build two large shallops, and set what was done of the bark on fire ; one part of them alledging, she would be the cause of our being found out, before she could be finished ; and, in short, that it was impossible she should ever be fit for the sea ; whereas, on the contrary, boats might be built in private places, where (if 20 ships came) they could know nothing of them. The favourers of this new design, who were headed by Morphew and his friend, aimed at a separation by this means, and did not doubt they should have their desire, considering the great influence they had as yet had over their fellow sufferers. But as this must be carried by a majority of votes, according to their own articles, they assembled before my tent to debate this matter, which they did in a noisy clamorous manner on both sides. But in order to come to a fixed conclusion, I positively assured them that boats would be impracticable, because our tools and materials too, were almost worn out, and gone, therefore that it was in vain for them to dispute about it. The workmen, and a considerable majority of the rest sided with me in behalf of the bark. But at night the carpenter sent me word that if I did not deliver him the money agreed at the beginning, notwithstanding the terms of the payment of it were not yet executed, I should not see his face again, so I was obliged to treat this gentleman in the most deserving manner, and raise the money for him. The most provoking part of this proposal was, that the fellows who took upon them to mention and

stickle for it, were those who had never done an hour's work since we had been cast away, but had been, on the contrary, the first movers in perverting the minds of the rest, and were in return for my indefatigable pains to serve them, come to insult me, and those few who had been my assistants on the strand ; but not gaining their point, they openly declared I should not be their Captain, and that none but Brooks should be their commander, which was (perhaps) what that young man aspired to, and had long expected, if one may draw reasonable conclusions from his averse deportment to me, and he, undoubtedly, might have been their commander, had it not been for the people of the boatswain's tent (who were some of the oldest sailors) who, although they were fond of thinking themselves their own masters, and would not submit to a regular command, yet had that respect left, as not to give their consents that I should be left on the island ; I must own that it was a thing very indifferent to me, had I not thought that I acquitted myself of my duty in doing what in me lay, to hinder so many of his Majesty's subjects entrusted under my care, from becoming profligate vagabonds.

To compleat the number of our unaccountable divisions, there arose a third party, who were resolved to have nothing to do with the other two, they purposing to stay on the island. These were to the number of twelve, who accordingly separated from the rest, and never appeared amongst us, except in the night, when they used to come about our tents and work to steal powder, lead, and axes ; and, in short, whatever else they could lay their hands on : but in a little time I found means to manage them, and took all their arms, ammunition, and the rest of their plunder from them, and threatned that if they were found within

musquet-shot of our work or tents, that they should be treated as enemies.

In a little time afterwards these divisions so far weakned the power of the whole body of them, that, by degrees, they began to listen a little to what I said to them, and prevailed so far as to get most of them in a working humour. Mr. Brooks now came with a feigned submission to desire he might eat with me again : but in the main, did not abate a jot of his esteem for Morphew : however, his dissimulation proved of signal service in contributing to the speedy finishing off the bark, which claimed the assistance of all our heads and hands ; for when we came to plank her bottom, we had very vexatious disheartening difficulties to encounter with ; for having no plank, except pieces of the wreck's deck, we found it so dry and stubborn that fire and water had hardly any effect in making it pliable and fit for use, it rent and split and flew like glass ; so that now I had substantial reasons to believe that all our labour had been in vain, and that we must quietly sit down with the disagreeable hopes of being taken off by some Spanish ship some time or other, and after all our troubles be led to a prison to reflect on our past misfortunes. However, by constant labour, and variety of contrivances, we, in the end, patched her up in such a manner, that I dare say the like was never seen, and I may safely affirm, that such a bottom never swam on the surface of the sea before.

9th of *September*. The boat, which I have already mentioned to be begun by the armourer, was launched, and being now in a way of compleating our bark, there yet remained unconsidered and undetermined what provisions we could get to support us in our voyage ; this was as necessary to be looked into, as the finishing our embarka-

tion, the one being useless without the other, and all the stock we had was one cask of beef, five or six bushels of *Farina*, or *Cassader* flour, together with 4 or 5 live hogs.

I made several experiments to save both fish and seal, but it was impossible to be done without salt ; at length we luckily thought on a method of curing the conger-eel, by splitting them, and taking out the back bone, then dipped them in salt-water, and afterwards hung them up to dry in a great smoke ; but no other fish could be preserved after that manner, therefore the fishermen were ordered to make it their business to catch what congers they could ; and now several of the people, who had not yet struck a stroke, began to repent of their folly, as they grew weary of living on this place, and offered their service to go a fishing, making some foolish excuse or other, for being so long idle, and asked my pardon, promising not to lose a moment for the time to come. The new boat being sent to try her fortune, I was, for the first time, very uneasy during their absence, least any of them in her should be hardy enough to go away from us. But, at night, they returned, and brought with them a great parcel of fish of several sorts, amongst which were 200 eels, which was a good beginning, and every tent took their proportion of them to save ; and the boat was hauled up every night, and a strict watch was kept over her to prevent any making their escape.

Having this conveniency of a large boat, I desired Mr. Brooks, our only diver, to try what he could recover from that part of the wreck which lay without ; he accordingly went, and could find but one small gun, which he weighed, and brought ashore, together with two pieces of a large church candlestick, which was a part of the gentlemen owners plate.

Our boat was daily employed in fishing, the armourer constantly supplying them with hooks, and there was no want of lines, which were made of twisted ribbon, of which a great quantity was driven ashore ; in the mean time those who were ashore made twice layed stuff[1] for rigging, &c. and patched up the canvas for sails ; the cooper compleated his casks ; and, in a short time, we had masts an end tolerably well rigged, and made a comfortable figure. But notwithstanding this shew, I had a damp upon my spirits, when I ruminated within myself the certain and unavoidable difficulty we should find in calking her tight, which was like to prove a very ugly piece of work, where one had bad seams, wretched tools, and indifferent artists to deal with, which was our case. However, when we had done it, and came to put in water to try the tightness of our work, it was followed by an universal outcry. *A Sieve ! A Sieve !* and now every one appeared truly melancholy and dispirited, insomuch, that I was afraid they would not have used any farther means. But, in a little time, by incessant labour we brought her into a tolerable condition, and having repaired the ship's pumps (which were much shattered) I contrived them to fit our bark ; this they cryed, was a poor dependance ; but I desired them to have patience, and continue their aid in doing what more could be thought of, and prepare to launch her, that then we should be the better able to judge what we might expect before we ventured to sea in her, and that in the mean time the cooper should make a bucket for each man, if his materials would hold out. This being approved of by all, it was agreed to put her in the water the next spring tide, which fell out on the 5th of *October* 1720, by which time we had saved about 2300 eels,

[1] Made up the yarns of old rope.

weighing, one with another, one pound each, and about 60 gallons of seal's oil to fry them in. This, with what I mentioned before, was all our sea stock.

The appointed time being come, we were all ready. But in launching her, as she fell from the blocks, that which was to receive her abaft, gave way, and down she settled, and stuck fast. Our launch being with the head towards the sea, I thought we were irretrievably spoiled now. But when we came to make purchases to raise her again, happily found she did not hang so heavy as I dreaded ; by which means we got her clear off, and saved the same tide ; as she went off I named her the *Recovery*, though I was sadly afraid of hearing ill news from those afloat in her. But all proved indifferently well, and knowing it to be dangerous for her to lye here long, especially having no other anchor than a great stone, and a slight rope to hold her ; the least puff of wind, would have destroyed her upon the rocks ; therefore that we might, as little as possible, incur such a hazard, we got all the water off that day, which we did so much the easier and quicker, because the casks were ready stowed in the hold. She had two masts, and was about 20 tons burthen ; and, to my great satisfaction, found, that one pump, constantly working, kept her free. The next day 6th of *October* we got every one on board, and embarked ; leaving behind us 11 or 12 of those who had deserted us, who were deaf to all perswasions ; and, in short, sent me word, that *they were not yet prepared for the other world* ; so that they, with the like number of blacks and Indians, remained on the island.

CHAPTER IX

OUR MANNER OF LIVING ON JUAN FERNANDES

That I may, before I go any farther, satisfy those who may be willing to know by what means so many of us subsisted so long by the produce of an uninhabited island, I shall here subjoin a brief account of our manner of living. At first the weather not permitting us to go a fishing for some time after we were cast away, necessity drove us to make use of seals ; but could not, for a pretty while venture upon their flesh, and therefore began by their entrails, which are really palatable. This was the destruction of great numbers of those amphibious creatures, who, in short, were so alarmed by such continual slaughters of them, and being offended by the stench, or terrified by the sight of so many of their putrified carkasses, that from the innumerable shoals we had of them at the beginning, they diminished so much, by taking refuge in other parts of the island, where they were out of the way of such disturbances, that they appeared very thin in our bay ; which, in process of time, obliged us to eat of their flesh, and, by that means, avoid killing so many of them. But as their fat was very strong and rank, we always stripped off that, and then roasted them till they were as dry as a chip ; after all, no food ever required a dram to digest it more than this, but we had not the least drop of any thing spirituous. Cats were plenty, and esteemed a better sort of diet, by every one but myself, who could never be perswaded to taste them ; as to goats flesh, that was hard to come at on several accounts, such as the scarcity of powder and shot, and want of shoes to follow them, which

were mostly made of the skins of goats or seals, laced to our feet with thongs of the same. In the mean time we used to take all opportunities of fair weather to go a fishing. But were deprived of the benefit of that by the roguery of some of the people, who did, one night, (for what ends I know not) set the boat adrift, and she was lost; which put us upon a contrivance of making small boats of basket work, covered with sea-lyons skins: with these we made shift to catch the small fish near the shore, but dared not go out of the bay with them; these served till the armourer had compleated the yaul I have already taken notice of. Our fish we fryed in seals oil, without salt, or any thing of bread kind to eat with it, or ought else but a little wild sorrel.

As to our habitations, they were as mean and inconvenient as possible, some being made with the boughs of trees, some covered with seals and sea-lyons skins, and some with the remains of the ship's sails. Often in the night, sudden flaws of wind would descend from the mountains, and leave us (if I may so call it) in bed, exposed to the weather; the furniture of our tents consisted of such utensils for cookery as we could find, which were very scarce, for the pitch-ladle, and covers of the ship's coppers were converted into frying-pans, &c. with many other shifts tedious to mention, though some had never any other conveniency of dressing what they had than broiling. Amongst the rest palm-cabbage was very acceptable when we could get it; which we never did without much trouble; for the whole tree seldom affords above two pound that is eatable. That which we call the palm-cabbage is the very substance of the head of the tree, which being cut off, and dismembered of its great spreading leaves, and all of it that is hard and tough, you find enclosed a white and tender young head, with its

leaves and berries perfectly formed, and ready to supply the place of the old one.

The Northern part of this place is very well watered by a great many streams which come down the narrow valleys, it keeps well at sea, and is, I dare say, as good as any in the world; down the Western peek, contiguous to the table mountain, descend two cascades at least 300 foot perpendicular, close by one another, about 12 foot in breadth, (which probably supply most of the other runs of water). What with the rapid descent of these waters, and the palm-trees which grow quite up close by the edges of them, adorned with vast bunches of red berries, it yields as agreeable a prospect as can be seen.

There would have been no want of goats in the mountains, could we, in all respects, have conveniently followed them; and cats are so numerous, that there is hardly taking a step without starting one; they are in size and colour exactly the same with our house cats; those whose stomachs preferred their flesh for food, have assured me, that their hunger found a more substantial relief from one meal of it, than from 4 or 5 of seal or fish; and to their great satisfaction, we had a small bitch which would catch almost any number they wanted in an hour or two.

The Spaniards, who first stocked this isle with goats, since they now have no need of the benefit they, at first, proposed to themselves by it, which was before they had got any sure footing in Chili, and imagining that the English, who have, from time to time, cruized in these seas, reaped a much greater advantage by it than they did, have endeavoured to destroy the goats by leaving dogs, who are now very numerous; but the goats had the start of them so long, that it is very improbable to suppose they will ever

be able to effect what the Spaniards intended, especially when one considers the many places of refuge they have, where no dogs can follow them.

In short, every thing that one sees or hears in this place is perfectly romantick ; the very structure of the island, in all its parts, has a certain savage irregular beauty, which is not to be expressed ; the many prospects of lofty inaccessible hills, and the solitariness of the gloomy narrow valleys, which a great part of the day enjoy little benefit from the sun, and the fall of waters, which one hears all around, would be agreeable to none but those who would indulge themselves, for a time, in a pensive melancholy. To conclude, nothing can be conceived more dismally solemn, than to hear the silence of the still night destroyed by the surf of the sea beating on the shore, together with the violent roaring of the sea-lions repeated all around by the ecchoes of deep vallies, the incessant howling of the seals, (who according to their age, make a hoarser or a shriller noise) so that in this confused medley, a man might imagine that he heard the different tones of all the species of animals upon earth mixed together. Add to these the sudden precipitate rumbling of trees down steep descents ; for there is hardly a gust of wind stirring that does not tear up a great many trees by the roots, which have but a slight hold in the earth, especially near the brinks of precipices. All these, or any one of these frightful noises would be sufficient to prevent the repose of any who had not been for some time enured to it. Thus have I given an account of such parts of this island as I have had a sight of, and of every thing worthy observation on it, which occurred to me ; but this only related to the Northern half, the mountains being impassable to go to the Southern parts of it, therefore I can say nothing of them.

CHAPTER X

RETURN TO THE COAST OF PERU, AND SECOND CAPTURE OF PAYTA

6TH of *October*. In the evening we departed, with nothing to subsist at sea with but the aforementioned smoked congers, whereof one was allowed to each man for 24 hours, one cask of beef, and 4 live hogs, which had fed all the time on the putrified carkasses of the seals we had killed, with 3 or 4 bushels of *Farina*. We were upwards of forty crowded together, who lying upon the bundles of eels, and being in no method of keeping themselves clean, all our senses were as much offended as possible ; there was not a drop of water to be had without sucking it out of the cask with the barrel of a musquet, which was made use of by every body promiscously, and the little unsavoury morsels we daily ate, created perpetual quarrels, every one contending for the frying-pan ; all the conveniency we had for a fire was only a half tub filled with earth, which made it so tedious that we had a continual noise of frying from morning till night. In a word, for the meager, hungry, savage looks of the people, for the dangerous uncertainty how our vessel might prove, for want of all necessary accommodations, and wholesome sufficiency of palatable provisions, and, in all other respects, it may be truly said that none could hazard their lives on the seas, especially with a warlike intent, in a more miserable necessitous manner. Thus we launched into the ocean with satisfaction in having got once more afloat ; but the pleasure of it was checked by the undoubted certainty of enduring much greater calamities at sea, than ever we did on the island, if something did

not speedily fall into our hands, and therefore I proposed that we should stand to the South-eastward for the bay of Conception, that being nearest to us. Every day, while the sea breeze continued, we were hard put to it, for not having above 16 inches free board, and our bark tumbling prodigiously, the water continually ran over us, and having only a grating deck, and no tarpawlin to cover it, except the bark's top-sail, which was but thin, our pumps would but just keep us free, notwithstanding which, I was unwilling to ease her by bearing away, Conception being our chief dependance.

10th of *October* 1720, which was the fourth day of our new expedition, at 4 in the morning we fell in with a great ship, and by the moonlight I could plainly see she was Europe built, which struck me with a dread of her being a man of war; however, since it was now in vain to look behind us, we were obliged to act in such a manner as the nature of our condition required, which was desperate, therefore I stood for her, and we being rigged after the manner of the small craft of the country, they did not regard us till day-light, which coming on before we could get quite up with her, they discovered the browness of our canvas, (their sails being always made of cotton, which is very white) and immediately suspecting us, wore ship, and hauled close on a wind to the Westward; then hoisted their colours, fired a gun, and crowded away from us, and left us behind them at a great rate; but it falling calm two hours afterwards, we had recourse to our oars, and approached them with tolerable speed, and, in the mean time, overhauled our arms, which we found to be in a very bad condition, one third of them being without flints, and but three cutlasses, so that we were not at all prepared for

boarding, which was the only means we could have of taking any ship ; we had but one small cannon, which we could not mount, and therefore were obliged to fire it as it lay along the deck ; and to supply it we had no more ammunition than two round shot, a few chain bolts and bolt-heads, the clapper of the *Speedwell's* bell, and some bags of beach stones to serve for partridge.[1] In four hours we came up with them, every one seeming as easy in their minds, as if actually in possession of her, and were only sorry that she was not deeper laden than she seemed to be. But as we advanced nearer, I saw her guns and patareroes,[2] and a considerable number of men on the deck, with their arms glittering in the sun. Though I did not like this sight, I did my utmost to encourage the people, and desired them to think of handling their arms, which we had no sooner done, than the enemy called out to us by the name of *English Dogs*, defying us, in a scornful way, to come on board them, and, at the same time, gave us a volley of great and small shot, which killed our gunner, and almost brought our fore-mast by the board ; this unexpected warm reception staggered a great many of my men, who before seemed to be the forwardest, insomuch, that they lay on their oars for some time, notwithstanding that I urged them to keep their way : but recovering again, we rowed close up with them, and engaged them, until all our small shot was expended, which obliged us to fall astern to make some slugs ; in this manner we made three attempts without any better success ; for I could not think of such a fool hardy butchery as I must have exposed my people to in boarding such a lofty ship,

[1] A form of shrapnel.
[2] Partridge guns, smaller than ordinary cannon.

who, when they had entered, must have gone to handy-cuffs with the enemy, having no pistols or cutlasses, which are the only weapons for a close fight.

All the night it was calm, only now and then a faint breeze would waft her a little from us ; but we made amends for that by rowing after them ; we were all the while busied in making slugs, and had provided a large quantity the next morning, when we came to a final determination of either carrying her, or of submitting to her, and accordingly at day-break, I ordered 20 men in our yaul, (which we always kept in tow) to lay her athwart the hawse, whilst I boarded her in the bark, the people in the boat put off, giving me repeated assurances of their good behaviour. But the very juncture we were coming to action, a gale sprung up, and she went away from us. As the gale freshned, I expected every minute that he would have come down and run over us, which he might very easily have done ; but instead of that, he held his way to the Northward, which I took to be a feint, and could not but think that he would go to Valparaiso (which was the next port) to alarm the coast ; I therefore steered all night for that harbour, in hopes to catch him again in the morning becalmed under the land, and, at day-light, had sight of him within us steering for that place : but upon discovering us, he immediately hauled to the Northward again, and continued his course along shore till he was out of sight. Upon this, I judged he was gone to Coquimbo, which would have been best for us, because, as Valparaiso is a place of considerable strength, we could have little hopes of doing any thing there. This ship was called the *Margarita*, and was the same which had been a privateer belonging to St. Maloes, and mounted 40 guns all the last war. In the

skirmishes we had with her we had none killed except Gilbert Henderson, our gunner, and 3 wounded, which were Mr. Brooks, first Leutenant, thorough the thigh, Mr. Coldsea, the master, thorough the groin, and one of the fore-mast men in the small of his back ; two of these did very well, and I think there was something extraordinary in their cure ; for the surgeon had nothing to apply to their wounds, but what he had himself prepared with seal's oyl, and other matters he had found on the island ; Mr. Coldsea, indeed, lingered in a miserable manner for 9 or 10 months afterwards : but at length recovered.

Our condition now grew worse and worse ; for we could not understand this piece of courage in the Spaniards ; I gave it as my opinion that they must have had European officers aboard, because the Creolians were never to be known so hardy. These seas being too rough for our uncomfortable vessel, I proposed that we might get into fair weather, but to take Coquimbo in our way, to try what could be done there. This was agreed on, but the very morning we expected to go into Coquimbo, there came on a very hard gale of wind, which lasted four days, during which time we had not an hour's hopes of living a minute longer ; we were obliged to scud under bare poles, having our yaul in tow, and having but a short scope of boat rope for her ; on the descent of every sea, we were in the greatest danger of having the bark's stern beat in by the violence of the boat's precipitate descent after us, and once in particular, a great hollow sea had like to have thrown her on our deck, which would have soon put an end to our pain. The excessive fright of this storm, which appeared the more violent, by as much as our embarkation was but little able to bear it, made many of the people form a resolution of

going ashore by the very first opportunity they could lay hold of.

Thus being baulked in our design on Coquimbo, and every one almost fatigued out of his life by always lying wet, and near starving with the small allowance of such poor unsavoury food as we had for our subsistence, I had no room left to give them further hopes; till, at length, calling to mind Monsieur Frezier's account of the Island of Iquique, I mentioned the surprisal of that place, it being but a small lieutenancy, and where we might, in all probability, get some wholsome provisions, and a better bottom than our own. Every one approved of this, and the sun shining upon us, and lying dry again, it instilled some vigour into us, and we directed our course for that island. In our way towards it we had a view of the small island of Pavillion, so called from its near resemblance to a tent, situated close to the continent, in the latitude of 21 deg. South. The evening after we saw Iquique, which appears no other than like a white rock at the foot of the highland of Carapucho ; it was 3 weeks before we got this length, and having nothing to ride the bark with,[1] were obliged to keep the sea, whilst the boat went in, but were doubtful, by the prospect of it, that such a place must be certainly uninhabited, and if it was the right place, could plainly perceive there was no ship at anchor there. It was sun-set before the boat departed, who endeavouring to land under the covert of the night, had like to have been lost amongst the breakers, and after all they could see, for a long time, were under a suspence that this could not be the place we sought after, until they heard the barking of dogs, and saw the light of some candles ; but having experienced the hazard of land-

[1] No sort of anchor.

ing in the dark, made their boat fast to a float of sea-weeds for want of a graplin ; in this posture they remained till day-light, and then rowed in between the rocks, and were received by some Indians on the shore, with an ignorant welcome. Being ashore they went to the Lieutenant's house, and finding it locked, broke it open, and rummaged the whole village, and found a booty more valuable to us, at present, than gold or silver, which consisted of about 60 bushels of wheat flour, 120 of calavances and corn, some jerked beef, pork, and mutton, 10000 weight of well cured fish, a good number of fowls, some rusk, and 4 or 5 days eating of soft bread, together with 5 or 6 jars of Peruvian wine and brandy ; and had the good fortune to find a large boat near the shore, to help to bring off their plunder, which, otherwise, would have been of little use to us, our own boat being already sufficiently laden with men.

Mean while we in the bark were carried away to the Northward by the current out of sight of the island, and they not having laden their boats before the heat of the day, had a laborious sultry task to row off their heavy laden boats so far in a tumbling swell, whilst we in the bark were encountering with the melancholy apprehensions, that our people not finding any thing considerable, had taken it into their heads to stay ashore, and desert us. But these clouds were dispersed, when towards the evening, I perceived two boats approaching us very fast, and discovered them to be as much burthened as they could safely be. Words can't express the universal joy that reigned among us when they came aboard ; the scene was now changed from famine to plenty, the loaves of soft bread were distributed to every one, and the jars of wine were broached. But I took care that they should drink moderately of it, each man having

no more than half a pint ; and after a day or two's living on wholsome diet, we wondered how our stomachs could digest the rank nauseous eels, fryed in train oil, and could hardly believe that we had lived on nothing else for a month past.

Mr. Randall, second Lieutenant, who commanded in this enterprize, told me, that they did not meet with the least opposition, and that the few Indians they found, seemed to be as glad of this opportunity of pillaging the Spaniards as we were.

This island, in the latitude of 19 deg. 50 min. South, is situated at the foot of the high-land of Carapucho, on the continent of Peru ; it is about a mile and a half in circumference, and half a mile from the main land ; the channel between them is full of rocks.

The island is of a moderate height, and the whole body of it consists of *Cormorant's* dung (a kind of sea bird very numerous on this coast.) Some will have it to be a particular sort of earth ; but the most probable and certain conjecture is, that it is the dung of birds ; 'tis not in this place only that one sees large quantities of it ; but also all along the coast of Peru, there are lofty precipices, and large rocks near the sea, cased over with it, which at a distance makes them appear like chalk-cliffs. That there should be a greater abundance of it here than on any other part of the coast, may be accounted for by observations made by the Spaniards, who agree, that these birds are more numerous in and about the latitude of this place than elsewhere ; and to confirm the truth of it, they farther report, that after having dug to a considerable depth, they have found birds feathers. As to a nice enquiry into this, our affairs would not permit it ; all that I can affirm of it is, that the smell of it is very

offensive, and that they load several ships with it every year for the Arica plantations of cod-pepper. There are no inhabitants on it but negroe slaves, who cleanse and prepare it in large heaps near the shore, ready for boats to take it off. As to the village where the Lieutenant resides, that is on the continent, close by the sea-side, it consists of about 60 scattered ill built houses (which hardly deserve that name) and a small church ; there is not the least verdure to be seen about it, nor does it afford the least necessary of life of its own product, not even water, which they are obliged to fetch from the Quebrada, or the Break of Pisagua in boats ten leagues to the Northward. Being therefore a place so truly miserable in itself, we may conclude, that the advantage and profit accruing to them by the *Guano*, or *Cormorant's* dung, is the only inducement to bring inhabitants to this place, which seems as if ordained by nature unfit to receive them ; not only on the account of the frightful barrenness of it, but also for the sickly scent of that island so near to them. This last inconvenience was what, I suppose, led them to the contrivance of building their habitations on the main land, which though it is a situation as hideous as can be imagined, and not wholly out of the stench of the offensive vapours of the Isle of Iquique, yet was the better choice, and not quite so suffocating. But although the land is so desart and forbidding, the sea about it affords a very plentiful quantity of two or three sorts of excellent fish, of such kinds as I never saw before ; one sort of them is nearest like a large silver eel, though much thicker in proportion to its length ; these, and the rest, equally delicious, they preserve in a very neat cleanly manner, and export great quantities of it by the ships which come for *Guano*.

By two Indian prisoners we were informed that the

Lieutenant of Iquique had a boat at Pisagua, which was sent for water, which we beginning to stand in need of, I sent Mr. Randall, second Lieutenant, in quest of her, but this failed ; nevertheless, though they missed the vessel, they landed in a dangerous manner on a sort of float called *Balses*, much in use on this coast ; they brought off only a few bladders of water, and 3 or 4 *Balses*, which are composed of two large seal-skins, very artificially sewed, and filled with wind, made fast along side of one another ; on these the rower sits looking forward with a double paddle, and as fast as he can perceive the wind to escape from under him, he adds a supply by a contrivance for that purpose ; these are the chief embarkations made use of by the fishermen, and are serviceable for landing on this coast, which has hardly one smooth beach from one end to the other of it.

There was now no talk among us of going a shore ; but, on the contrary, should have looked into Arica, had we not been informed that there was a ship of force lying there, which caused us to steer wide of that port, and determine to make some attempt in the road of le Nasco, in the latitude of about 16 deg. 00 min. South, and Pisco, in the latitude of 13 deg. 45 min. South, both which are noted for their exportation of wines and brandy.

The very morning that we came off the Sierra, or highland of le Nasco, two hours before day-light we met a large ship. The circumstances of our engagement with this ship were, in some measure, the same with those of the *Margarita*, for we met with both at the same time in the morning, and both had the misfortune of being becalmed whilst we were in pursuit of them ; in short, about 10 in the morning we rowed up with them, whilst they threw over-board a

great quantity of lumber which pestered their decks. I shall not relate the confusion that was amongst us, only in brief acquaint my reader, that we struggled very hard with her for 6 or 7 hours, and were, at length, obliged to leave her, the sea breeze coming in so strong, and the sea running so high, that had she been of no force our slight built bark would have been in pieces before a third of us could have entered her. This ship was called the *St. Francisco Palacio*, of 700 tons, 8 guns, and 10 patareroes, a great number of men, and well provided with small arms, although she was so deeply laden, that as she rowled, the water ran through her scuppers over her upper deck ; yet having a very deep waste, she appeared very lofty, especially abaft, which had more of the resemblance of an ill contrived wooden castle, than of a ship, according to the fashion of building at present in Europe. It happened very hard that we should meet two of the best equipped ships in the private trade, at that time, in the South Seas ; in this action we had not above 20 small arms that were of use, which was the effect of their inconsiderate proceedings on Juan Fernandes. This last repulse was made a pretence for much murmuring and uneasiness, many despairing that we should ever take any thing as our condition was at present, became inclinable to surrender to the enemy, who was all the night becalmed near us ; to prevent the design of such who were so disposed, I took care to remove our two boats out of their power, by ordering two men in each of them, such as I thought I could trust, and cast off from us at a little distance, that none might escape in them ; but notwithstanding the confidence I had reposed in these four, the two in the best boat deceived me by going away with her, which was a great loss to us, and added much to our misfortune in

being discovered so near to the port of Callao, where they must hear of us in a day or two. The day after I was informed, that the first Lieutenant and Morphew had made a party (too strong for me to oppose) to go away with the boat we had left ; but it blowing fresh the next night, they were hindered from executing their design.

The next day we stood into the road of Pisco, as we had designed, where we discovered (what appeared to be) a large ship, upon sight of which I talked to Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, telling him, that I was no stranger to his and his associates resolution ; but hoped that in this, which would be the last effort we could make towards the preservation of our liberty, that they would continue to behave themselves like men, and not tamely submit whilst we had any lead left ; and desired every one to prepare themselves for boarding her at once. This being agreed on, we bore down to her with a resolute despair, and laid her athwart the harse, and, to my great satisfaction, were received (instead of resistance) by the Captain, and all his officers, with their hats off, in the most submissive manner, asking for quarters.

Before we came the length of this ship, I had ordered our boat to intercept theirs, which was going ashore ; they clapped her on board, but not holding fast, they fell astern, and could not fetch up with them again, not offering to fire a musquet to bring them to, so that they carryed away every thing that would have been valuable in this prize. She was a good ship, of about 200 tons, called the *Jesus Maria*, almost laden with pitch, tar, copper and plank, but nothing else. The Captain offered 16000 dollars for her ransom, but I could not give ear to it, by reason that the *Recovery* was disabled in her masts by boarding, and not only that, but I was also hindered by the consideration that now we had

room enough to enjoy ourselves in some cleanliness at least, an article we had been perfect strangers to, ever since we had departed from the Island of Juan Fernandes.

We therefore made all dispatch in getting every thing out of the bark. The Spanish Captain informed me, that the *Margarita* had been arrived some time at Callao, where she had given a full account of us; that the Captain, and three more were killed in the action with us, and that the priest, and several others were wounded, and that she was now ready to put to sea again with an addition of 10 guns and 50 men to cruise for us; and that the *Flying-fish*, a frigate of 28 guns was already out with the same intent, and that there was advice sent both ways along shore, and commissions to equip what strength they had to catch us. All the night they were upon the watch at the town, making a shew, by the continual firing of guns, to give us an idea of what we must expect if we should dare to attempt a descent. But they might have eased themselves of those apprehensions, for we had enough to do to prepare for our departure the next day, being now, as it were, in the very jaws of our enemies, which, by the advice I had received, were ready, on all sides, to devour us, and from whom nothing could preserve us but a considerate wariness in going out from hence. Having cleared our bark the next morning, we gave her to the Spanish Captain, and as soon as the breeze sprung up, we weighed, and went to sea, and in going out met with our boat which had left us; they edged towards us, imagining we were Spaniards, by which means we got them again; the two fellows were almost dead, having neither eaten nor drank any thing for three days past, and had just been ashore on a small island near this harbour to kill some seals to drink their blood; they had no excuse but that they fell asleep,

and that the faint breezes had wafted us in the bark away from them.

Pisco being 40 leagues to the windward of Callao, I kept close hauled till I had gained 2 degrees offing, and kept that distance till we had got well to the Northward of Callao, and hauled in again for the land a little to the Southward of Truxillo, and looked into the roads of Guanchaco, Malabriga and Cheripe, but seeing no shipping in them made no stay, and passed between the Island of Lobos de Tierra and the Continent.

On 25th of *November*, in the evening, we found ourselves near the Saddle of Payta, and having been here before, imagined that, though our force was much diminished since we last took it, that we might, without any hazard, surprize them in the night ; accordingly we endeavoured to get in with the ship, till it growing calm, and having been discouraged from making too free with the land in the dark, by the danger we had almost run ourselves into of being ashore amongst the rocks, it was thought the properest to defer it till the morning, since our disguise of being in a Spanish built ship would be sufficient to blind the inhabitants, and make it impossible for them to suspect us.

In the morning it blew fresh off from the land, and we had a tiresome and tedious piece of work in getting into the Cove, which being opened to us, we saw a small ship there. The people ashore observing the fatigue we underwent the greatest part of the morning in making so many short trips[1] to gain ground to windward, sent off a large boat full of men to help us to bring in our ship, and enquire news of us ; as soon as we saw them making towards us, I ordered that none should be seen but such as came

[1] Tacks.

nearest to the Spanish complexion and dress, who should be ready to answer what questions they might ask in hailing us, and give them a rope to make fast their boat, when they clapped us aboard, whilst some should be concealed under the gunwale with musquets ready to point into their boat, and command them in as soon as they had made themselves fast. This stratagem had its intended effect. I examined the prisoners of the condition of the town, which they answered was very poor at present, there being neither money nor provisions in it, and shewed me a small bark on the shore which Capt. Clipperton had sent in here a little while before with some of his prisoners, upon which every thing had been again removed into the country; this unwelcome news did not hinder us from keeping on our way with our Spanish colours flying, till we came to the anchorage.

No sooner was our anchor down, than I sent away Mr. Brooks, with both the boats, and 24 men, no more of them appearing than those who rowed, and 2 or 3 sitters in each, the rest, with their arms, lying in the bottom of the boats. Thus they advanced towards the town without giving the least umbrage to the inhabitants, who were so thoroughly unconcerned, that when my people landed, they found the children playing on the beach, who immediately took the alarm, and ran away at the sight of armed men; in an instant the whole place was in the utmost consternation, and happy was the man who could make his escape, without any regard to their wives or children, who were left to shift for themselves by making what haste they could to get out of the way; they were universally dispersed in the most terrified confusion in all directions of the compass, ours were the same, who not being able to determine which

parcel of them was the most worth pursuit, followed them as their fancy suggested to them, and, by that means, took but few prisoners ; some women were overtaken, and after being searched, had their liberty restored to them. The town being left destitute, and the enemy being too nimble of foot for ours to take them, they returned to Payta, and upon a strict search found that our prisoners had not said amiss in affirming, that the place was poor, for they could find nothing but a few bales of coarse cloth, about 500 weight of dryed tole, or dog-fish ; 2 or 3 pedlars packs, and an inconsiderable quantity of bread and sweetmeats, so that we unluckily had but little employment for our boats. But though we had so little success in our land enterprize, we took a booty as we lay at anchor in the ship, which might have been made valuable, if discretion and prudence might have had the management of it ; for want of which it proved a troublesome incendiary. This was a small vessel, who coming in about 8 in the evening, and advancing so near to us as to be within the reach of our musquets, we with them commanded them aboard of us ; she had nothing in her but about 50 jars of Peruvian wine and brandy ; the master of her told me, that he was come by stealth from Callao, there being orders that none but ships of some force should stir out ; he told me the same story that the Captain of the *Jesus Maria* had before, and with dissembled concern, gave me to understand, that it would be next to impossible for me to get off from the coast without being taken, and was the first who acquainted me with my second Captain's (Hatley) being taken, and the value of his prizes, as I have already mentioned in the first part of this book, and likewise assured me, that we had killed and wounded several in our action with the Spanish Admiral, and that the

officers belonging to her had suffered much blame and scandal for their tardy behaviour in attacking us.

But to return to the town, my people, who had all to themselves, were in no great hurry to quit it, and it being now dark, some of the Spaniards who were lurking about the outskirts of the town, hearing so many small arms fired in the road, instantly concluded that our ship was attacked, and were in hopes that some of their men of war were come again to deliver them from the hands of their enemies; upon these false surmises they began to assemble together, and being apprized of the small number of English ashore (who did not exceed 18) came down the hills in a great uproar and noisy fury; my people thought themselves on the brink of ruin, when they heard them calling out to one another by fictitious names and qualities, one calling to Capt. Martin, with great heat, to march with his two hundred men to the Northward of the town, and to Capt. Francisco to march with his company to intercept their passage to their boat; whilst a third was to attack them, and drive them out of the town; at first my people not doubting that they were in earnest, took refuge in the biggest church, resolving to defend themselves there; but, at length, taking courage, they marched out, and formed themselves in a line, and kept their drum beating very resolutely, and one of them firing a single musquet at random, they spoiled the Spaniards jest, heard no more of them, and embarked very quietly.

The next morning we departed, reflecting on our hard fortune in having this place a second time alarmed by Clipperton, who never offered to make a descent, though in his scheme the taking this town is mentioned as a thing of great importance; and indeed so it might have been to him,

if he had landed the first time, when there was 400000 pieces of eight in it (as I have been credibly informed by prisoners) besides a great quantity of Jesuits bark,[1] and other valuable commodities ; and some of the King of Spain's treasure is frequently lodged in the Governour's care ; and if he had attempted them, even the second time, it would have been worth his while. As for Collan, which is 2 miles to the Northward of this, situated near the mouth of a little river ; it is a mean place, being entirely inhabited by Indians.

[1] Quinine.

CHAPTER XI

VOYAGE TO MEXICO, AND MEETING WITH THE 'SUCCESS'

FROM hence we directed our course for the Island of Gorgona, in the Bay of Panama, and in our passage thither built a tank, or wooden cistern, big enough to hold ten tons of water, instead of cask, without the assistance of which we could have but little hopes of being able to depart from these coasts ; in our way we made the Island of Plate, Cape St. Francis and Gorgonella, or little Gorgona, and on the 2nd of *December* arrived at the Island of Gorgona itself, and came to anchor to the leeward of the Northermost point of it, in 40 fathom water, within less than a quarter of a mile of the shore ; we had the advantage of filling our water cask in the boat, the water running in small streams into the sea, and cut down our wood at high water mark, so that in less than 48 hours we did our business.

Here seems to be a convenient place to lay a ship ashore, and the water flows above 14 foot ; the island is about 2 leagues and a half in circumference ; it produces a great variety of large trees, fit for all uses : at the North and South ends of it are several high rocks, on which the birds called *Boobies* build their nests, and during the short stay we made here, their young ones were valuable to us, of which we made ragouts and soups. Here are monkeys and guanoes in abundance, and near the North end there is a rocky cave, the rendezvous of *bats*.

From this place we hurryed away for fear of those who might be in quest of us, and having got out of the tract of the enemy's ships, consulted on the properest methods of

proceeding, and the majority (considering the small likelihood of avoiding the enemy if we stayed any longer here) were for going directly to the coasts of Asia, upon which we changed our ship's name from the *Jesus Maria* to the *Happy Return*, and applied all our endeavours towards abandoning these coasts, but the winds and current were averse to it, and some of those who opposed our departure, did so much damage clandestinely to our tank, that the greatest part of the water in it leaked out, so that this, with continual contrary winds and dead calms, which had detained us till our provisions were much exhausted, rendered us uncapable of undertaking so long a run ; therefore to furnish ourselves with what we wanted, I proposed a descent on Rio Lego, in the latitude of 11 deg. 50 min. North, on the coast of Mexico ; but in our way thither, we accidentally fell in with Cape Burica, in the latitude of 8 deg. 20 min. North, and then, on second thoughts, judged it would be safer for us to make some attempt on the Island of Quibo, in the latitude of 7 deg. 30 min. North,[1] where, by Capt. Rogers's account, I guessed there were inhabitants who lived in a plentiful manner on the product of that island ; wherefore we steered for it, and the next day made the Isle of Montuosa, so called from its appearing like a single mountain in the middle of the sea, lying about 5 leagues to the Westward of the Island of Quibo.

On the 13th of *January* 1720-21, we anchored between the N.E. point of the Island of Quibo and the Isle of Quivetta, in 20 fathom water, over-against a sandy bay, commodious for wooding and watering ; but our boat, which I sent in before us, told me, that on the parts of it they had seen, they could not perceive any footsteps of inhabitants, nor any

[1] Coiba Island, now belonging to Panama.

sign of them, except 2 or 3 huts near the water-side, which they supposed were made use of by pearl-fishers, there being great heaps of mother of pearl shells about them, but that there was a good close harbour a little to the Southward of us ; but I did not care to make use of it, being unwilling to be closely confined.

At day-light the next morning we saw two large piraguas rowing in for Quivetta, one of them having Spanish colours flying ; this bearing a warlike appearance, I imagined that they might be come from the main to view us, and might, perhaps, have an inclination to try their skill with us, the *Mullatoes*, on the coast of Mexico,[1] being noted for their courage, and have done many resolute actions in boats and small embarkations, but they continued their way till we saw them go into a small cove on Quivetta, and, after a little debate whether it would be prudent for us to attack them in our boat, it was resolved upon, on all hazards, to go after them in our yaul ; which enterprize was commanded by Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, who found them all ashore, brought away their piraguas, and two prisoners, the one a mullatoe, the other a negroe, the rest fought for refuge in the woods.

We took all their provisions, which consisted of a little pork, and some green, ripe and dryed plantains, there was a large quantity of the latter, which being pounded made a grateful flower to the taste, indifferently white, and all together made up a month's bread, I mean we ate it instead of bread. The mullatoe mortified us very much by telling us, that a vessel laden with provisions had passed very near to us in the night ; but to make amends, promised to conduct us to a place where we might supply our-

[1] The Viceroy of Mexico governed all Central America.

selves without any hazard, provided we were not above 2 or 3 days about it. No news could be more welcome to us than this, wherefore we were very brisk in getting off our wood and water; but, at the same time, considered that there were between 20 and 30 men on Quivetta, who were destitute of any provisions but the wild fruits of the island, and had no embarkation to convey them from thence; therefore, since we could not spare them one of our boats to get off, which we should want ourselves to ship off the expected booty in our approaching enterprize, I sent an officer, and 9 or 10 men to treat with them, and, in case the enemy should be afraid to come near them, to set up on the beach where we surprized them, a small cross, with a little picture of the Virgin Mary, with a paper written in such wretched Spanish as we could muster up amongst us, to assure them that they should meet with generous quarter, and to perswade them not to suffer voluntarily such hardships as they would if they did not submit, and make signals to us to fetch them off before we weighed. The boat went, and not seeing any of them, they went into the woods and hollowed to them, but they returning no answer, fixed the cross, &c. as was ordered, and came away, and those on the isle being so stubborn as not to make any signals to us, which they might easily have done, we, on 16th of *January*, weighed from hence for Mariato, that being the name of the place we were bound to.[1]

In going out from Quibo we were in eminent danger of being horsed by the current upon two rocks, lying at a small distance from one another of the Northermost point of Quivetta, but having cleared them, we steered through Canal Bueno, or the Good Channel, so called from its

[1] In the west of the modern Republic of Panama.

safety, being free from dangerous shoals and rocks. This being a navigation very little known, I took all imaginable precaution in keeping hands at the masts-head to discover any ripling, or discoloured water, &c. in time, and on 19th of *January*, in the evening, we got safe in between Mariato and the Island of Sebaco, and anchored in 6 fathom water, over-against a green field, which is instruction sufficient, there being but that clear spot hereabouts. Our pilot desired we might be going at least 3 hours before day-light, and that then we should be in good time at the plantations ; accordingly I went away at 2 the next morning, in our own boat, and ordered the two Lieutenants in the two piraguas, leaving my son, and a few with him, to take care of the ship ; our pilot having us in charge carried us up some part of the river of St. Martin, and out of that into several branches of very narrow *creeks* amongst mangroves, where we had not room to row.

I could by no means approve of this navigation, and therefore kept a strict eye upon our guide, and was ready to suspect that he had no good design in his head ; we landed just at day-break, and when we came on the bank found ourselves in a fine *Savanna*, or plain, and after a march of about 3 miles, came to two farm-houses, but those belonging to them made their escapes, except the wife and children of one house.

We had the satisfaction of seeing that this place answered to the description that had been given us of it, being surrounded by numerous heads of black cattle, hogs, and plenty of fowls of all sorts, together with some dryed beef, plantains, and Indian corn ; and, for the present use were entertained with a wholesome breakfast of hot cake and milk, a diet we had been long unacquainted with ; when it

was broad day, I saw our ship close by us, upon which I asked our mullatoe how he came to bring us so far about, who answered, that there was a river between us, and that he did not know whether it was fordable or not ; I therefore sent some to try, who found it was not above knee deep, wherefore, to avoid the trouble of carrying our plunder so far by land and water, I ordered that our boats should row out of the river of St. Martin, and come to the beach over-against the ship ; we had not been long here before the master of the family we had in custody (being willing to undergo the same fate with them, or to release them by the merit of such services as he could oblige us with) brought horses with him, and desired we would make use of him in any thing he could serve us ; this offer was kindly received, and I presently employed him to carry what I thought fit to our boat : this done, he went among his black cattle, and brought us what number I thought we could save, for we had but little salt, and I could not afford water to keep them alive when we came to sea ; so that as soon as they were aboard, they were killed, and their flesh preserved by cutting it into long slips, of the thickness of ones finger, and then sprinkling it with so small a quantity of salt, that we did not use above 4 or 5 pounds to a 100 weight, having let it lye together 2 or 3 hours, we hung it up to dry in the sun, two or three days successively, which perfectly saved it, which could not have been done any other way by any quantity of the best salt.

But to return to our Indian farmer, after he had laboured all the day in being beneficial to us, I took him aboard with us at night, and there treated him so well, and engaged him so far by some trifling presents, that I may venture to assure my country-men that any of them will be welcome to him

for the future. And I really would recommend this place to any who hereafter may be sent to cruize in these parts, in case they should find themselves short of provisions. This place, as I before said, is near the point of Mariato, which is the Westermost land of the Gulph of St. Martin ; when you come to anchor, as I have directed, you will not only see the plain, but also 2 or 3 white houses, which we could not distinctly observe at first, because we came to just at the close of day-light ; these farms belonged (when I was there) to a rich Spanish curate, who lived at the city of Santa Maria. What cattle there is, is mightily exposed to the perpetual ravages of tygers,[1] who swarm on the coasts of Mexico. But to make amends for this inconvenience, the Indians are so dextrous and hardy as to make it no difficulty to destroy them, and are so bold as to attack them as soon as seen, with only a lance in their hands ; an instance of this happened the very morning we came upon them, when they had just killed a tyger, (of no mean size) and flead him ; the hide I brought away with me, raw as it was, but the beauty of it was spoiled by the strokes of the lance ; so that the Indians here may be truly called guardians of their flocks, who can so daringly cope with the most active and fierce of all beasts, for their preservation ; but it is certain, that long use to this sort of work has so enured them to it, that they have little or no dread on them, when they are furiously run upon by one of those savage creatures, being well convinced of their own ability to kill them.

Having done all we proposed in coming here, we made no stay, but departed from hence the next morning, with our decks full of fowls and hogs, amongst which there was one that had its navel on its back, which the Spaniards say,

[1] Jaguars.

when wild in the woods, is a terrible creature to meet with, although, at their full growth, they are but small. We returned by the same way that we came, through Canal Bueno, and made a stop at Quibo to compleat our water, and when we sailed, gave our two prisoners the largest piragua, that those still remaining on Quivetta, might return from whence they came.

But I must here make a digression to inform my reader (who may imagine that we enjoyed the blessings of quietness, by what I have said of our proceedings since our last attempt at Payta) that the wine and brandy we had there taken, had worked so oddly with my ship's company, as to divide them into two parties, to the last degree inveterate against one another, who used to be so firmly united at first, insomuch that I have had, in one night's time, the ringleaders of both of them desiring me to espouse their cause, both assuring me, that the other had a design on my life, and urged me to take the opportunity to murder those who were not of their faction. It is even unaccountable to myself how the mischief was diverted ; for I could use no means but speak calmly to them on both sides, and suffer them (indeed it was out of my power to hinder it) to get drunk as often as they would ; and in that condition they have often, altogether, been skirmishing with one another ; and I have had, more than once, my cloaths almost torn off my back in endeavouring to part them. It was happy that this trade did not last long, for while they had any thing to drink, I judged it unsafe to lay my head on my pillow, which almost wearied me out of my life. But their free access to the liquor shortned the term of this miserable way of passing our time, and though while it held it was attended by some vexatious consequences, yet it had this one good

effect, that it helped off with the liquid evil at a great rate. Necessitous hunger obliged them to act jointly and vigorously together at Mariato ; but having glutted themselves a day or two they relapsed again, and were as distracted as ever, though now in the midst of a moderate plenty.

Those who were the managers on the Island of Juan Fernandes, now felt the bitterness of their own first seeking and encouraging, and in return for what they called good offices for the right and interest of the common sort, were obliged to put up with all the insolences that were offered to them by the meanest of the ship's company, and my land gentlemen[1] who had been hitherto looked upon to be no other than passengers, were now forced to learn to steer, and take their turns at the whipstaff,[2] so promiscuously were the officers of all kinds blended with the foremast-men. By this any one may guess what sort of government there could be in a ship, where the chief officers had debased themselves so low by their indiscreet familiarity, as now to be the scorn and contempt of the most despicable of the crew. And a just reward it was for their inconsiderate rash ingratitude to their commander and themselves, who, but a few months before, instead of supporting me in the lawful authority which I might justly exercise over them, had used the most dishonest measures to strip me of all the respect due to me, and by endeavouring to reduce us into a little republick, and lodging all the power in the hands of the people, had brought us into such confusion, that (if they had been now ever so willing) it was beyond their cunning or skill either to retrieve their own credit, or do any thing that might be effectual towards establishing me again in my command.

[1] Officers of the Marines.
[2] The predecessor of the steering-wheel.

For even when our wine and brandy was gone, although we did not lead such a noisy fighting life, yet they had no more regard to me, or my officers, either in their private or publick discourse, than if we had not been in the ship. Indeed in the conduct of the ship, or the guidance of any enterprize, and on all emergencies, for their own sakes, and through a conviction of their own insufficiency, they were entirely governed by me, though they soon forgot their obligation, and I had also my intervals of disrespect and insolence from them.

What I have now been saying may serve to give a general idea of the disadvantages I laboured under, the whole series of the remainder of the voyage, in any undertakings, and shall now continue my narration of our future proceedings.

25th of *January* 1720-21. In the morning we made a sail about 2 leagues to the leeward of us. We gave them chase till we found they were Europe built, and fearing she was one of the enemy's men of war, I clapped on a wind,[1] and, in half an hour it fell calm. Soon after we saw a boat rowing towards us, which proved to be the *Success's* pinnace, commanded by Mr. Davidson, their first Lieutenant. My first interview with him was attended by an astonishment equal on both sides ; he could hardly believe that he saw us in so mean a condition, and I could scarce believe that the *Success* (if in being) had been all this while, wandring up and down these seas.

I entertained him with a rehearsal of the continual run of our misfortunes, which had happened in the long interval since we were separated near the coast of England, till our present meeting that day ; and he, on his part, entertained

[1] Sailed closer to the wind.

me with several remarkable incidents, which had befel them in their conduct. Particularly, that about a twelve-month before, they had taken a new French built brigantine, and put their officers and ship's company's plunder on board of her, which they valued at 10000 pounds sterling; that their second Captain, Mr. Mitchel, was intrusted with the command of her, and was ordered to go with her to some island on the coast of Mexico, and to stay there till Capt. Clipperton joined him with his ship; but that they never could find the island since, and therefore judged that poor Mitchel, and his men, were either starved or murdered by the Spaniards or Indians, who are very dextrous at that kind of work, or that he had perished with the island, which Capt. Clipperton, and some others, were of opinion was sunk, since by all their endeavours they could not find it out. Mr. Davidson seeing me startled at so improbable a conjecture, continued, that I needed not be surprized at it since such *submersions* were very common on these coasts, and began to tell me of a dreadful instance of it on the coast of Peru, which had happened a little before; for, says he, my Captain having a desire to look into the road of Cheripe, when we arrived there, we found the town, and a great point of land which formed the road entirely under water. But I undeceived him in this, by telling him how lately we had seen that very place. The truth on't is, that Capt. Clipperton, though he was reputed to be well skilled in this navigation, was always unfortunate in finding out any port, &c. and least his continual blunders should be imputed to his ignorance, he always found out some expedient to evade any suspicion of his inability. The story of Capt. Mitchel, who was a very worthy man, and an expert sailor, is, in all its circumstances very tragical. There

was always a jealousy between him and his Captain, who ordered him to a place (and pretended to give him infallible directions to find it) which never could be found afterwards, and, its my opinion, never was above water; and the unfortunate gentleman, without doubt, perished in some obscure miserable manner, in the quest of a place that was never yet, and perhaps never will be discovered. In our discourse, I asked Mr. Davidson the value of their booty, who assured me, that it did not exceed 70000 dollars; but that they had lost great opportunities; that in *October* 1720, they were in the bay of Conception, and had the misfortune of leaving three laden ships behind them, and missed a fourth that was coming into the bay, who was so near as to hail them, talk to them, and was becalmed by them; and that though it was probable that their launch would have taken them all four, yet through their Captain's deafness to advice, they took none of them; and that, moreover, they had never cleaned their bottom, notwithstanding they had had it several times in their power to do it; and that this negligence had like to have cost them dear; for, in their return from Conception they looked into Coquimbo, where they saw 5 ships at anchor, three of which let slip after them, and overtook them apace, but by the favour of thick weather, and a hard gale of wind, they got clear of them; and further, that off the port of Callao, they fell in with the *Flying-fish*, a fregate (who was cruising for me in the bark) who, by unpardonable mismanagement on the part of Clipperton, got safe from them, although deeply laden with a valuable cargoe designed for Cadiz; I have been since informed of this by one of my surgeon's mates who was taken in the *Mercury*, and was surgeon of the *Flying-fish* at that time.

This was the substance of my discourse with Mr. Davidson, when, in the mean time, a gale sprung up, which interrupted us, and I bore down to the *Success*, and went on board of her. I gave Capt. Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey, the agent-general, the whole history of my voyage hitherto, and expected that I should have been treated by them as one belonging to the same interest, but found I was mistaken ; for they were unwilling to have any thing to say or do with me, since my ship was lost.[1] However, I conceived that he could not be so inhuman as to deny me the supply of such necessaries as I wanted, and he could conveniently spare. The answer I had to this expectation was, that I should know more of his mind the next day. Amongst the rest of the discourse I had with him, he was telling me, that he was just come from the Island of Cocos, that his people were sickly, and at very short allowance. Whereupon I offered my service to pilot him to Mariato, which was not above 30 leagues distant from us, where he might have refreshed his company, and supplyed himself with what he would. But this was not accepted, he being resolved to make the best of his way to the Tres Marias, where, he said, there was turtle enough to be had ; so I left him for that night.

The next morning, as I was going on board of him again with some of my officers, he, at once, spread all his canvas, and crowded away from us who were in the boat. Upon

[1] It appears from the chief mate's journal that Shelvocke and his crew had made a bad impression on the *Success*. 'They differ 'much in their account: but have no regular command among 'them, being all alike as the West-India privatiers. They have chose 'a quartermaster, carrying every thing by a majority of votes : so 'that we find, they have quite broke their articles with the owners, 'and have shared all among themselves.'

which I returned to our ship again, and made signals of distress, and fired our gun several times, which was not regarded by him till his very officers, &c. cryed out on his barbarity, and, at last, he brought to. When I had sailed up with him (being exasperated at such inhuman treatment) I sent Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant, to know the reason of his abrupt departure, and to tell him that we stood in need of several necessaries, which, if he was not inclinable to give, I would purchase them of him. Upon these terms he spared me two of his quarter-deck guns, sixty round shot, some musquet-balls and flints, and a Spanish chart of the coast of Mexico and part of India and China, a half hour and a half minute glass, a compass, and about 300 weight of salt ; but with all the arguments I could use, could not prevail on him to spare us the least thing out of his surgeon's chest for the relief of Mr. Coldsea, our master, who had been ready to die of his wounds received in the engagement with the *Margarita*, for above 3 months past. We returned for what we had of him some bales of coarse broad cloth, as much pitch and tarr as he would have, some piggs of copper, and I, on my own particular, gave him a large silver ladle for a dozen of spadoes. When this was concluded, I again asked him if I could be of any service to him, and assured him, that I had a pretty good ship under foot, though she made but a poor figure, and believed that I could hold him way, and that he knew that our cargoe was pretty valuable ; to which he answered, that if I had a cargoe of gold, he had no business with me, and that I must take care of myself. Mr. Hendry, the agent, and Mr. Rainor and Mr. Dodd, Lieutenants of Marines, seeing but little prospect that we should ever get home, and being weary of the work that was imposed upon them, desired I

would let them go on board the *Success* for a passage to England; which I having consented to, they went on board accordingly, and Clipperton left us to shift for ourselves near the Island of Cano.[1]

Having this supply, I was for going to the Southward into the Bay of Panama, to try our fortunes there, but the majority opposed me through fear, and were for going to the Tres Marias to salt turtle there, and then stretch over for India. We directed our course thither, but the winds near the land continually reigning in the Western board, and the coast of Mexico lying nearest N.W. by W. and S.E. by E. we crept to windward but very slowly, and at so tedious a rate, that we began again to be short of provisions before we had got the length of Rio Lego, which renewed our design of landing there, which had been laid aside on

[1] From the Journal of George Taylor, Chief mate of the *Success*:
'*January* 27. Perceived Captain Shelvocke to hoist St. George's 'colours at main-top-masthead, firing three guns at intervals, being 'signals to speak with us. We lye to for his boat, which came aboard 'with a letter for Captain Clipperton; who immediately sent back 'the boat for their purser to be examined concerning their actions 'on the coast of Brasil, and in the rest of their absence from us. 'Sent away the boat: but the purser Mr. Hendrie stays; who gives 'but a dark story of their proceedings; and that he was not allowed 'to take any account of the treasure for the owners. At eight 'Captain Shelvocke came aboard being sent for by our Captain and 'agent to give an account of his transactions. The boat brought 'Mr. Dod their Lieutenant of marines to continue with us; he 'having been used very ill for standing up for the owners interest.
'28. Came aboard from Captain Shelvocke, six chests of pitch 'and dammer, and two barrels of tar, with six slabs of copper. 'Captain Clipperton spares him twenty-four quarterdeck guns, 'some great and small shot, a compass, and a few other necessaries. 'His people have laid out a great deal of money with us for clothes, 'shoes, hats, &c. Captain Shelvocke goes aboard and parts com- 'pany. Here remain with us two of the *Speedwel's* officers, Mr. 'Hendrie the purser and Mr. Dod Lieutenant of marines, designing 'with us for China.'

our supply got at Mariato. But this intention was no sooner resumed than frustrated, for we were blown past it by a *Tegoantepeque*, for so the Spaniards, on this coast, call a violent gale at North-East.

Continuing our way along shore, we, a few days after, met the *Success* in quest of Sonsonnate, where they expected to receive the Marquis of Villa Roche's ransom, who had been for some time a prisoner on board of them, and whose wife was now at Guatimala, a city within 30 leagues of that port. We ranged close under their stern, and asked how Capt. Clipperton, and the rest of the gentlemen did, but it was not thought proper to return us any answer; so, without any concern, he steered one way, and we another. After this, calms, and contrary winds, and unaccountable currents, reduced us to a small allowance, which we were obliged to diminish daily, and should have been in a worse distress than ever, had it not been for the turtle which we, from time to time, took on the surface of the water. We had continual look-outs for them, and they were easily known at a great distance by the sea-birds which perched on their backs; so that upon sight of these we used to lay aside the advantages we might have made of the wind to embrace any offer of prolonging our provisions. Upon the whole, tho' we lost some of our way in pursuit of them, yet they had a worse consequence attending them, for whilst they helped out with our eatables, the dressing them made a great consumption of our water, the quantity of which decreased upon us very suddenly by the continual expences of it in boiling the turtle with *Plantain* flower. This relapse into a state of famine, threatening us with speedy and certain perdition, if means were not timely used to avoid it, made me propose the plundering of some small town as we coasted

along shore. Guatulco was the nearest to us of any that was taken notice of in any of our charts, lying in the latitude of 16 deg. 40 min. North. But the very morning that we were standing in for it, at sun-rising we saw a sail a considerable way to leeward of us. We thought it properer to take this ship than to venture ashore, and therefore bore down to her, which, in the end, proved to be the *Success*. I had forgot to mention the signal that was agreed on between us at first, in case of our meeting at sea, which was to clew up the main top-gallant-sail, and fire a gun to leeward. This signal I made as soon as I thought we were near enough for him to perceive it. Whereupon he hauled on a wind,[1] and did not so much as lay by a moment for us to come up with him, so that we met a double baulk, both as to our hopes of Guatulco, and the ship ; for we were now so far to the leeward of our port by bearing down to him, that it was needless to have beat up against the wind for an uncertainty, when we had a gale we might make a pretty good advantage of, which would, at once, (if it had continued) have forwarded us in our way, and have brought us into the neighbourhood of some other port in a day or two.

But the winds were but a few hours propitious to us, and were succeeded by perpetual contrary gales, which destroyed all our hopes of a speedy refreshment, and brought us down to a small earthen plate of *Calavances* (a kind of small bean) for 24 hours, which not being sufficient to keep us alive, we had recourse to the remainder of our smoaked congers, which had, for some months, been neglected, and had been soaking and rotting in the bulge water, and was certainly as disagreeable food as could be tasted.

[1] Sailed closer to the wind.

Under these calamitous circumstances did we meet the *Success* a fourth time, near the port of Angels, in the latitude of 16 deg. 50 min. North, and after having made the appointed signal, stood so near to one another, that, (to use the sea phrase) a bisket might have been tossed from ship to ship, but did not exchange a word with each other ; for Capt. Clipperton (as I have been since informed) had ordered all his officers and ship's company to take no notice of us ; which, I presume, was the greatest indication of an inhuman disposition in our relentless countryman, and former consort, who could unconcernedly see us wandering up and down an inhospitable coast, in want of every thing necessary to keep the sea, and under too well grounded apprehensions that we should never have an opportunity of taking any thing that might be of advantage to us any way, or ever be able to get safe over the vast ocean we had to cross in going to India, in a ship not at all fitted for the purpose, and fitter now for a dock than to be at sea a day longer. Nor was the faultiness of our ship all, but we had also our provisions to seek, and where to find any none of us could tell ; for all of the coast that we had seen was so wild and open to the sea, that it would have been impossible for us to have landed, which, indeed, (considering how our force was diminished) nothing could have urged us to on this savage coast, but such an extremity of want as we were in at this time. And so truly sensible was Clipperton of the difficulties and hazards we had to cope with, if my design was for going to India, that he said, that the child that was born the day before would be grey headed with age before we should arrive there ; intimating by that expression, that it was impossible for us to do it. Notwithstanding which, he, without any remorse, could see us on

the brink of undergoing the greatest severities our ill fortune could load us with, and not lend us a helping hand to deliver us from impending ruin ; although he could foresee no means by which we might avoid a lingering death by sea, or throwing ourselves upon the mercy of the barbarous Indians, or Creolian Spaniards, (who are little better here) who, if we had escaped the fury of the surf on the strand, might have put an obscure ignominious end to our lives, they having been rarely known to have given any quarter.

Thus surrounded on all sides by the threats of approaching disasters, and some melancholy catastrophe, we, on 12th of *March* (being, at that time, off the port of Aquapulco)[1] towards the evening saw a ship between us and the shore. I bore down to her, till perceiving her to be a large Europe built ship, (she appeared the larger by reason of a small mist on the surface of the water) with Spanish colours flying, I concluded that she was the *Peregrine*, who, as I have been informed, was to have carried the Prince of St. Bueno (who had been Vice-Roy of Peru) to this port, in his way to Spain. With these suspicions (being as yet unwilling to run ourselves so voluntarily into the enemy's clutches) I hauled again on a wind, which he seeing, pulled down his Spanish, and hoisted an English ensign, and made the signal agreed on between Clipperton and me for knowing one another, and also made his old signal to speak with me, as fixed amongst other signals between us, before we came out of England. Notwithstanding which I should hardly have trusted him, had we not been so near Aquapulco, where I thought Clipperton might have come to a resolution of cruising for the Manila ship, and wait for her coming out of that harbour, and thinking himself too weak,

[1] Acapulco, in Southern Mexico.

was now willing to reinforce himself by what strength I could assist him with. But had it been in any other part, I should have been so far from entertaining any thoughts of such a change in him, that I should have looked on all his signals as the artifice of the enemy, who might have acquainted themselves with them by the information of such of our men as had been taken prisoners. But now making no doubt that it was he, I bore down to him, and being come along his side, he sent Capt. Cook, his second Lieutenant, in his yaul, with an obliging letter to me, wherein he informed me, that he was cruising for the homeward bound Manila ship, and desired I would assist him in the enterprize, and come on board of him the next morning to consult on the properest methods of attacking her, and proposed an union of our two ships companies. I was very well pleased with this offer, and without hesitation, returned him word, that I would be with him early.

In the mean time I read over his letter publickly to my people, and exhorted them seriously to consider the great benefits that would accrue to us on all sides from it. Upon which they all expressed the most resigned willingness to join in such an undertaking. But as Clipperton had used us so unhandsomely, they desired I would get some security for their shares, signed by Capt. Clipperton, Mr. Godfrey, the agent, and the rest of their officers ; so I went on board according to appointment with Mr. Brooks and Randall my Lieutenants, and was received with a seeming unreserved civility, and all animosities being as it were lost in oblivion, nothing now appeared among us but a perfect harmony. I first told Capt. Clipperton and Mr. Godfrey, that my officers, &c. expected such a paper from under their hands as should entitle them to such shares as were allowed them

by the owners articles ; to which they answered, that it was but reasonable that they should be satisfied in that, and immediately drew up an instrument fully worded, and signed it, which was all my people wanted to make them easy.

We then proceeded upon our main business, and after a mature deliberation, it was thought most advisable that I should send the greatest part of my men on board the *Success* as soon as we saw the Manila ship come out of Aquapulco, and leave only a boat's crew with me to bring me away in case I should have occasion to make use of mine as a fire-ship, or a smoaker,[1] as we proposed, if we found them too hard for us ; and it was determined to board her at once, because otherwise we should have had much the worst of it on account of their superiour weight of metal, and the better capacity of their ships (which are built very strong) to bear a cannonading. Clipperton assured me, he was certain of the time when she would sail from this port, which the Spaniards say is always within a day or two after *Passion* week, of which we had a fortnight yet to come.

I proposed if we should have the misfortune of failing to meet her here, (as we might easily miss her if she should happen to come out in the night,) that we should go directly to Guam, one of the Ladron Islands, where she always stopt for refreshments ; but this being a point we should have time enough to consider on, before the time of our cruize was elapsed, it was left undetermined, and referred to another meeting. However, we now projected such a scheme, that if we had met her, and vigorously prosecuted what we designed, I think she could not have got clear of

[1] Burning the ship to create a smoke-screen.

us without being singed at least, for my ship was very fit for that purpose, and the *Success* could have fought twenty four guns on a side.

But before I returned to my own ship, I acquainted Capt. Clipperton with our slender stock of provisions, but particularly our shortness of water ; upon which he told me, he had 80 tons, and that he would spare me as much as I would have, or any thing else his ship afforded. I had now the pleasure of enjoying my command in as regular a manner as ever, every one, from the highest to the lowest, expressing the satisfaction they had in the prospect before us. But Morphew, that ringleader of all our disorders, fearing my resentment would fall heavily upon him, was contriving how to skreen himself from me, and after all thought, it was his best way to insinuate himself into the favour of the Captain and officers of the *Success*, which he did effectually by an humble submissive outward deportment, and prevailing presents. In short, he had his end, and left me to go on board there on 14th of *March* in the evening, and the next afternoon Mr. Rainer (who acted with us afterwards as Captain of Marines) came on board of us to visit his old shipmates, and to stay with us all night. I constantly kept reminding Clipperton of our want of water, and he as often promised to supply us with a large quantity at once.

Thus we cruised in good order, and with a great deal of hope, until the 17th of *March*, the time appointed for me to suffer the most perfidious piece of treachery that could be committed. But in order to give my reader an exact account of the circumstances of it, I must inform him, that we used to cruize off and on the shore, at such a convenient distance as not to be discovered from the land ; and, at the same time, it was next to impossible for any ship to stir out of the

harbour of Aquapulco, without our seeing them ; and we not sailing so well as the *Success*, it was Clipperton's custom to shorten sail for us, particularly in the night, and shew us lights on all necessary occasions. But towards this evening he stretched a head of us about 2 leagues, and I could not perceive that he so much as lowered a top-gallant-sail for us to come up with him. I could not but be a little startled at this, as being quite contrary to his usual method. However, I kept standing after him (as I thought in the night) till we were almost on the breakers on the shore, which, of consequence, obliged us to tack, and stand out to sea (admiring that we had had no signal for going about) and the next morning had no sight of any ship near us, which laid me under the most terrible apprehensions, considering the sad condition we were in for want of water, and the vast distance we were from any place where we could expect to get any, having now no choice left but either to beat up 220 leagues against the wind to go to the Tres Marias, or bear away a much more considerable distance for the Gulph of Amapala, in the latitude of 12 deg. 20 min. North, on this coast, or the Island of Cocos, in the latitude of 5 deg. 00 min. North.

But notwithstanding our distress, I kept our cruising station for him two or three days, not doubting but that it was the fault of my people on the watch, who neglected to keep a good look out ; till, at last, they resumed the authority that Morphew, &c. had endued them with, and would be perswaded to nothing but to bear away to the first convenient place to water at, and in truth it was time ; for we were now 40 odd men who had but 3 buts of water for a run of 300 leagues and upwards, on a coast subject to long calms, variable winds, and uncertain currents.

But before I go farther, it will be necessary to set this dishonourable and cruel behaviour of Clipperton in a true light, by the information I had from the mouths of his chief officers, after my arrival in China, which was, that the night they left us, he assembled all his officers, and told them, that it was his intention to leave the cruize clandestinely, and go off the coast; upon which his officers remonstrated to him the barbarity of such an action, and told him, that if he really proposed to leave off all thoughts of the Manila ship, yet, since I had been so ready to assist him, and that we were now friends, that he could do no less than defer his design till the next evening, and, in the mean time, take an opportunity of sparing us some water. But he put off their serious and just expostulations with an inhuman sneer, saying, What could it signify if I should, through want, be obliged to surrender, I should only undergo the same fate, that, perhaps, some others had before me; and, in short, ordered all the lights in his ship to be kept close, and tacked directly from the shore, and took his departure from the last land they saw the foregoing evening, leaving us standing in for the land to cruize by our selves, and every moment expecting the *Success's* signals, who was soon far enough out of the reach of our sight, if it had been day-light.

Thus this man, through an excess of mean spiritedness, dreading the engagement with a ship that was always known to defend itself with some obstinacy, neglected as fine an opportunity as most of our nation ever had of taking this ship, who, (as I was informed by some Spaniards from Manila, when I was in China) came out of Aquapulco about a week after we left the cruize; she was called the *Santo Christo*, had 40 odd brass guns, and was extreamly rich.

How great a prospect we had, how great an opportunity we lost of taking this, which is always the richest trading ship that goes to sea, I leave the world to judge, when I assure them it was hardly possible to have missed her at one of the ports I have mentioned, and as we were prepared, the action would not have been very extraordinary if we had subdued her.

Thus was I (as I at first thought) happily rescued from the constant anxiety of mind I had had ever since the loss of my ship, and lifted up to the highest pitch of satisfaction, in the good fortune I had of being joined with my consort in so noble and profitable a design, after so long a separation, only to be plunged the deeper in the sea of despair. My people happened to guess right in this affair, being convinced of the strictness of their look-out, and blamed my easy credulity in a man who had just before so openly and maliciously expressed his mind to me. That which made our case the worse was, that we depending upon promised supplies of what we wanted, had lived at a larger allowance than ordinary, which now we had reason to repent, because it had reduced us lower than ever, whereas, if I had not cruised with him, we might have spun out what we had by good husbandry to have lasted us much longer. But nothing now remained but to apply all our thoughts on returning back again, let the event be what it would ; and having reduced ourselves to a very small allowance, we turned our head to the South-east-ward.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE TAYLOR, CHIEF MATE OF THE 'SUCCESS'

'13th of *March*. Made a sail, which by the signals proving 'to be Captain Shelvocke, we brought to. He comes aboard 'with his Lieutenants. Our Captain and they agree in 'general, that if we meet the Manilla ship, Shelvocke's 'company to joyn us, and run her aboard at once. Accord-'ingly we cruise for her : and on the 15th Captain Clipper-'ton holds another consultation ; wherein proposals being 'agreed on, are signed and sent to Captain Shelvocke ; '*That if he and his crew would refund all the money shared* '*among themselves contrary to their articles with the owners*, '*and agree to put it in a joint stock, then all faults should be* '*forgot ; both companies would unite, and procede to cruise* '*for the Acapulco ship.*

'17th. Not hearing from Captain Shelvocke, and the 'time for the Manilla ship setting out being several days 'past : resolved in a council to make our best dispatch for 'East India.'

CHAPTER XII

RETURN TOWARDS PANAMA

We had very favourable gales, insomuch that on the 30th of *March* in the evening, we saw the road of Sonsonnate, and, as the sun sat, saw a ship at anchor there. It being a moonlight night, I sent the first Lieutenant, with some of the best hands, in our yaul, to discover what she was, and to try what he could do with her; she had not been gone above two hours before I heard two guns fired, and my boat soon after returned, and informed me, she was a large ship of one tier of guns at least.

However, I continued to ply in all night, and prepared ourselves for action. At day-light we found she did not make so formidable a figure as we expected. But at sunrising the land breeze blew so fresh off from the shore, that we worked in but slowly; in the mean time we received all their fire upon every board we made without making them the least return, and their boat was employed to transport soldiers from the shore to the ship. They hoisted a jar of powder (containing about 10 gallons) with lighted match, at each main and fore yard arms and bowsprit end, to let fall on our decks if we boarded them, which contrivance, if it had taken effect, would have soon made an end of both of our ships, and those that were in them. Seeing them so desperate in their preparations to receive us, I could do no less than expect a warm dispute, and by what I could see they were, in all points, superiour by much to our strength: but as our case would not admit of the neglect of getting what offered, though at ever so hazardous a rate,

their more than ordinary contrivances for defence, did not much dismay us.

At 11 in the morning (after having received all their fire since day-light without the least return) the sea-breeze came in, and that I might make our small force the most beneficial to us, I ordered our three guns to be brought over on the side we were like to engage them, and being within less than musquet-shot, discharged them. The sea breeze freshning, run us upon them very fast, whilst our small arms were briskly and effectually employed to break their powder jars before we boarded them, which we did without delay, and after the exchange of a few shot, when aboard of each other, they submitted.

This ship was called the *Sacra Familia*, of 300 tons, 6 guns, and 70 men ; she had a great number of small arms, grenade shells and shot. They had been, for some time before, arrived from Callao, with wine and brandy ; but had now nothing in her but 50 jars of gun-powder, a small parcel of rusk and jerked beef ; in short, she could hardly be said to be worth the trouble we took, or the risques we ran ; but she having the character of being a better sailer, and visibly better fitted than ours, I changed ships, and we all went on board our prize, who was equipt in the war-like manner we found her, and commissioned on purpose to take us, if she should chance to meet us in her way. Our small arms (to do justice to my people) were handled with the greatest dexterity ; but being employed mostly in shattering the powder jars, that the combustible matter in them might fall into the water, there was none killed but the *Contre-master*, and only one slightly wounded ; but if our small arms had not been so usefully diverted, there could

not have failed of being a considerable slaughter amongst them ; on our part, we did not receive the least damage.

The merchant we had taken in this action seemed inclinable to purchase the *Jesus Maria*, which we had quitted, and when he heard that her cargoe consisted of *Pitch*, *Tarr*, and *Copper*, he approved of my demand, and went ashore to raise the sum. We had so little provisions to spare, that we could not afford to keep any prisoners in possession, and therefore turned all the whites, Indians, &c. ashore, detaining only the negroes. And that we might lose as little time as possible, we set immediately to work to over haul our rigging and sails, that we might get our new ship ready for the sea. But I was interrupted in this by a letter which came from the Governour of the place in the evening, which none of us could understand, (for our chief and only interpreter of the Spanish stayed behind on Juan Fernandes) but by the messenger which brought it, we found it was some account of a truce on foot between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, and that the Governour requested me to stay five days, that he might thoroughly satisfy me in it, by shewing me the articles of accommodation. I thought this very odd, and told the Spanish gentleman, that it was not a peaceable or friendly reception I met withal, and asked how they came to arm themselves in so desperate a manner, and why the Governour did not rather chuse to send a flag of truce to me with this information before we engaged, having the whole morning before hand, and why these articles were not on board the ship, she coming from Lima, from whence they said they received these papers, and continued to tell him, that it was very strange to me, that none of the officers we had taken prisoners should know any thing of the matter ; but that, notwithstanding all this, I had

such a regard for the name of peace, that I would stay 15 days, if the Governour would supply us with water and provisions, and that if he did not, I could not pretend to make above 24 hours stay here.

This being delivered to the Governour, he consented to the request I made, and our boat went ashore every morning with a flag of truce. The first four days we were supplyed with 8 small jars of water, and on the fifth were reduced to 5, and during the whole time had but one small cow, which was attended by a large boatful of men, amongst which were two priests, who, with a great deal of familiarity, and shew of friendship, brought with them a paper in Spanish, which they called the Articles of Peace, which they knew very well we could not understand; and it was so wretchedly written and blotted, that had it been in English, we should have been puzzled to read it; I therefore desired the priests to translate it fairly into Latin, which they promised to do as soon as they came ashore, so they took the papers with them, and for my farther satisfaction told me, that the Governour would send for some Englishmen who lived at the city of Guatimala, if I would continue in the road three days longer, to which I, in a word, answered, that he might take his own time.

In two days after this, when my boat went ashore as usual, the Governour ordered them to be taken prisoners as soon as they landed. I was all the day in suspence, not being able to guess what could so long detain them ashore, but was far from imagining that the Governour would make such a breach in the laws of nations, and the security of a flag of truce, as to violate the protection of it, which even some of the most barbarous nations esteem sacred. But in the evening I was astonished to see only two of my boat's

crew in a small leaky canoe, with 2 letters, the one from the Governour, and the other from Mr. Brooks, first Lieutenant ; the Governour in his, required me to deliver up the *Sacra Familia*, and surrender myself, and that otherwise he would declare us pyrates ; and Mr. Brooks in his told me, that all he could learn since he had been a prisoner was, that the Governour was endeavouring to bully me. The Governour in his proposed two ways of conveying us out of the Spanish dominions, the one to Vera Cruz by land, or to Lima, in Peru, by sea. These offers I equally disliked ; for I did not like a journey of 1300 miles at least thro' such a country of barbarous people ; nor yet a voyage to Lima under their conduct. My two men who brought these letters told me, that Frederick Mackenzeye (one of the boat's crew) had let the Governour into the secret of our necessities, and of my former design of getting water on the Island of Tygers, in the Gulph of Amapala, which, he said, he would take care to prevent, if we dared be so hardy as to attempt it, and believed that he had us now safe enough, knowing that we had no other boat now, but a very small canoe, which he thought would be unsafe to send from the ship in that gulph, where the inhabitants are all warlike Indians.

Notwithstanding the ungenerous and unlawful treatment we had met, and though I saw there was no relying on the honour of these people, I was willing to come to a farther treaty ; for I could not foresee but that our shortness of provisions of all species would oblige us to submit, whether peace or war, yet was resolved to do it in a handsome manner, or suffer to the last extremity. But I knew not how to communicate my mind to the Governour, since it would have been an unreasonable request in me, to have desired

any of my men to carry a message to a place where certain captivity attended them. But the two who brought the letters off, liked the shore so well, that they voluntarily offered their service, and a third went with them to throw out the water. But I received no manner of answer, therefore I weighed before day the next morning, and lay to in the bay till 10 of the clock, expecting I should hear from the shore every moment; but nothing appearing, I made sail leaving behind me the *Jesus Maria*, a much more valuable ship than the other.

Having got out to sea, we reduced ourselves to a pint of water for 24 hours, and directed our course for the Gulph of Amapala, which was about 35 leagues to the E.S.E. of this place, in order to get water there on the Island of Tygers. The loss of my officer and boat's crew, sensibly diminished the number of white faces amongst us, and our strength would have been so much weakened by it, that we should never have been able to manage this great ship, with her large heavy cotton-sails, if we had not taken our negroe prisoners along with us, who proved to be very good sailors. The loss of our boat was a great inconveniency to us; but as I thought of only taking water enough to carry us to Panama, where we were fully bent to surrender ourselves, if it was really peace, I thought we could make shift with her, and get such a quantity as we should want in two or three days time.

The winds being favourable, we arrived there on the 10th following in the evening; as soon as we had entered the gulph, we found ourselves in the midst of several small islands, and amongst the rest, the Island of Tygers, where we expected a supply of water; but our expectations proved vain, for after a hazardous and fruitless search

for it, not only on that, but some of the greenest of the other isles, there was not the least drop of fresh water to be found on any of them. Under this misfortune we could not, at first, so much as think of venturing to sea, so slenderly provided with the most necessary article to keep us alive in so hot a climate, nor of throwing ourselves into the power of the savages inhabiting the borders of this gulph ; as to returning to Sonsonnate, which was 35 leagues to windward of us, we might be a month, or more, in gaining so much on this coast, and perish in the attempt ; and though Rio Lego was to leeward of us ; yet there were substantial objections to be made against surrendering there ; for all who have attempted to describe it, and to give instructions for going in there, agree that it is very dangerous and unsafe to go in with a large ship without a pilot, or being well acquainted with it.

Now, as people in such a forlorn way, are apt to form innumerable apprehensions upon the ill event of any thing they fix upon, we presently concluded, (and with good reason) that before we could get there we should be so weak, by the want of sustenance, that we should not have it in our power to manage our ship with so much activity as to avoid any unforeseen danger that we might inadvertently run upon ; this inconvenience being attended by our entire ignorance of that harbour, made me fear any unhappy accident with the ship in going in there, which, if it had happened, would have been imputed to us as a wilful destruction of the ship, after finding she could be no farther useful to us, the consequence of which would be, that our lives or perpetual loss of liberty, must have paid for it ; for right or wrong we must have implicitly submitted to such constructions as they would have put upon it ; and

these parts of Mexico are so little known to the Europeans, that the inhabitants never stick at satisfying their cruel revenge, not only on account of the easiness of keeping it a secret amongst themselves, but also from their natural propensity to use their enemies with all the barbarity they can devise.

In vain should we have pleaded our surrender on the hearing of a cessation of arms ; for their universal jealousy and haughty contempt of strangers would have been sufficient to have driven them on to pay themselves for the stoppage of the free course of their trade for these two years past, with the lives of those who had not only done them such a prejudice at this time, but also would be ready, and sufficiently skilled in the navigation of these seas, to give them perpetual disturbances, in case of a future rupture. I had these considerations in my head when I was treating with the Governour of Sonsonnate, especially after he had disregarded our flag of truce ; for I considered with myself that it would not be difficult for a man of so little honour, and so base a mind, to have laid a plot to cut us off in so long a journey as we should have had in crossing the kingdom of Mexico, by ambuscades of Indians laid in our way, and then (though it might be by his own order) report, that it was the outrage of the Indians, which he could not be accountable for. 'Twas these considerations that made me chuse to go to Panama (since we could think of nothing else but surrendering, whether peace or war) that being, in a manner, in the neighbourhood of the English, and if it was really peace, the constant residence of some, or other, of our country-men ; and, at the worst, we could not be so liable, or openly exposed here to the inhuman artifices of the Spaniards, who stick at nothing they can privately do

to keep foreigners in a dark ignorance of these great and rich kingdoms.

Surrounded on all sides with these unhappy circumstances, and brought down to the most miserable condition imaginable, threatned on all sides by inevitable destruction, unfit for the sea, fearful of trusting ourselves in the cruel hands of the inhabitants ashore, quite dispirited by the continued run of misfortunes which had hitherto been our constant attendants ; but above all, lamenting this unhappy baulk, which had reduced us to such extremities as we had never known ; in short, ready to sink under the burthen of our calamities, we weighed our anchor on the 13th of *April* before day-break ; and having now the open sea before us, I brought my people in general to an obstinate resolution not, by any means, to surrender on this part of the coast, let the consequences be ever so miserable. Upon this unanimous agreement, we having not forty gallons of water in the ship, and no other liquids, we came to so small an allowance as half a pint of water for 24 hours, and even this allowance was rather too large, considering that there was no place that we knew of where we could get any nearer than the Island of Quibo, which was about 200 leagues distant from us, and we were forty three in number, reckoning our negroes. Thus resolved, we shaped our coast for Quibo, but having very uncertain winds and weather, were 13 days at this allowance ; during which time there is none that has not experienced it, can conceive what we suffered in a sultry clime, by the perpetual extremity of thirst, which would not permit us to eat an ounce of victuals in a day. We constantly drank our urine, which, though it moistened our mouths for a time, excited our thirst the more ; some attempted to drink large quantities of the sea water, which had liked to

have killed them. An universal fever, and languid decay of spirits now reigned amongst us, and there was not one of us, at that time, that was not fitter to be carried to a sick bed, than to be obliged to labour at the hard work, which is requisite to manage a large ship, in a place subject to sudden violent gusts and squalls of wind; yet, at the hazard of losing our masts or canvas, we were forced to crowd along with all our sail, to reach the place where we hoped to be rescued from a lingering death.

But we were unexpectedly assisted; for on the 25th of *April*, towards the evening, we came up with the Island of Cano, in the latitude of 9 deg. 00 min. North; which, by the verdure of it, promised to yield us water if we could get our canoe ashore. Under hopes of succour from this little isle, we came to an anchor on the N.W. side of it, and it was as much as we could do to hand our sails, stop the cable, &c. We soon began to imagine that we could see a run of water; but, at the same time, dreaded the dangerous surf which broke on the beach all around those parts we had seen of it. Nevertheless Mr. Randall was sent with some jars to try what could be done, but they not returning till it was very late at night, I was fearful they were lost, or that not finding water there, they were gone to the continent (which was about 3 leagues from it) but, at length, to my unspeakable satisfaction, they came on board with their jars filled. Any one may guess at the excess of joy which there must naturally be amongst men who were thus opportunely delivered from the hands of death, but as they did not bring off above 60 or 70 gallons, I took care to restrain them in the use of it, allowing to each man only a quart to be immediately distributed to them; what made me the more strict in this was, that Mr. Randall assured me that the

breakers were so hazardous, that he believed we should not be able to get any more ; but that very night we chanced to have a heavy shower of rain, which we made the best use of, by catching what we could of it in sheets, blankets, &c. During this long interval of thirst, we constantly wished for rainy weather, and had often good reason to expect it by lowring black clouds, which seemed every minute to be ready to discharge their burthens, yet never did before to any purpose, which tantalized us in a wretched manner.

Being willing to make another essay, the next day I sent the boatswain, and some with him, to make a second attempt ; but after having been quite round the island, and wasted the whole day in search of a smooth beach, he could not see one spot where he durst venture ashore. Therefore, thinking we had a stock sufficient to carry us to Quibo, which was about 30 leagues from us, I weighed the next day, and in ranging near the island, saw a smooth beach, which induced me to send the boat a third time, that we might be provided against such contrary winds, currents, or calms as we might meet with in our way. Accordingly they went, and filled 9 jars, which done, we held our way to the South-eastward, and, in a few days, arrived at Quibo, and anchored at the same place where we had been twice before.

Being here, we pursued our main business in coming to this place ; but not in a great deal of haste ; for it was requisite, since we were now within less than 80 leagues of Panama, where we proposed to surrender, to think of it a little before hand, and contrive proper methods to carry on our treaty. We had this certain advantage, that as Panama is a place of little or no strength towards the sea, and but little frequented by their ships of war, we could treat with

them at a distance, and be truly informed how affairs stood in Europe, especially if there was any of the South Sea company's officers there, who would, no doubt, be ready to assist us with their advice.[1] During our considerations on this point, which was likely to put an end to what had as yet been an unfortunate expedition, we wooded and watered at leisure ; and some searched the woods for fruits, to refresh us who had been so long confined to the grossest eating, by way of prevention against the *scurvy*, which we had all along been less subject to than any ship I ever saw or heard of in such long runs. Those who, as we thought, were thus usefully employed, brought us *Papas*, *Guayavas*, *Cassia*, *Limes*, and small kind of white soure plumb, which was much eaten, and admired by most of us ; but they had such an effect upon us as to purge us for several days successively ; but those more especially who had been likewise fond of the physical lusciousness of the *Cassia*. Thus were we universally out of order, and a stop put to our work for a day or two, and detained here some time longer than we should otherwise have been ; but being recovered of this, we made an end of getting our wood and water, and sailed from hence by the way of Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, fully determined to surrender at Panama.

On the 15th of *May*, a small bark taking us for Spaniards, bore down to us ; the master of her was mightily surprized when he found his mistake, but soon recovered upon hearing that we were bound for Panama, and readily offered to pilot us thither, but had heard of nothing like a truce ; he belonged to, and was bound for that port ; his vessel was called the *Holy Sacrament*, and came last from Cheriqui

[1] This company, 'The South Sea Bubble,' had collapsed since Shelvocke left England.

laden with dryed beef, pork, and live hogs ; he desired I would take her in tow, complaining that the currents drove him off shore, so that he could not fetch the land, although he had constant sight of it, and that, by this means, all his live cattle were almost dead for want of water, and that she was at the same time so leaky that his people were no longer able to stand at the pumps ; upon the hearing of this I took her in tow, and kept the master of her on board, sending some of my hands to assist them, and spared them as much water and Indian corn as I could.

It may appear strange that this opportunity of supplying ourselves with provisions, did not make an alteration in our intended proceedings. But every one was so tired of the sea, so worn out by a continual want of all necessaries, and disheartened by our perpetual misfortunes, that they were willing to embrace any opportunity of going ashore at any rate. Indeed, as to myself, I was glad that this bark fell into our hands, because, if we found the Governour of Sonsonnate's account to be false, we might be thoroughly enabled by this help to go to India. To this end I designed to anchor a great way short of the town, and keep possession of the *Holy Sacrament*, in case the President there should not have complyed with such terms as I should have esteemed safe and honourable, and then we should have it in our power to redress ourselves by keeping out of their hands ; but all this while we had not fully determined who should be the person intrusted with the flag of truce ; for my people having known so much treachery acted amongst themselves, were apprehensive that the person sent would only, or chiefly make his own case good to the Governour, and not return again ; therefore, after all my son was thought the properest to go, as being sure of his return, if

it was purely for my sake. This, and many other objections were started that could not be so easily removed, notwithstanding we kept on our way, fixed in our resolution.

17th of *May*. Another small bark came down upon us, but having come pretty near to us, stood away from us again ; I therefore ordered Mr. Randall to go in our canoe to inform them of our design, and prevent their loss of time and way ; but as soon as they were almost on board of them, they hoisted their Spanish colours and fired into our canoe, which made my people be glad to retire, and get out of their reach, after which she stood in towards a rocky bay, and we after her, till night coming on, it was no longer safe for us to do it. The next morning, being the 18th of *May*, my people were divided amongst themselves whether we should look into the bay to see if this vessel had lain there at anchor all night, or not, and the affirmative carrying it, we stood for the place where we left her. As soon as they saw us coming in, they weighed their anchor, and hoisted all their sail, and stood directly in for the bottom of the bay. When I saw this I tacked, and lay braced to, with our head to the seaward to prevent their going ashore, and also sent the master of our bark (at his own request) with four of our negroes in our canoe, with a flag of truce, with orders to tell them, that if it was peace we would do them no farther damage. But they neither minded our ship's lying to, nor the flag of truce flying in our canoe, but ran ashore directly, and destroyed their vessel, perhaps, with the loss of some of their lives.

In the mean time, while we were lying to for our boat to return to us again, there arose a violent gale at S.S.W. (which the Spaniards call a *Popagallio*) attended with a prodigious shower of rain, thunder and lightning. This

violent gust driving us right upon the land, we were in the greatest danger of being lost on a lee-shore ; but it pleased God that it did not last above 2 hours, then came round a little more Westerly, and soon after fell quite calm ; however, by this flurry we lost our canoe, and the people in her, that is, they were driven on shore ; but there was no room for a fear that such good swimmers should be drowned. The unaccountable shy behaviour of those who thus voluntarily shipwrecked themselves rather than fall into our hands, gave us another good reason to believe that the Governour of Sonsonnate's account of a *cessation of arms*, was groundless and false.

The next morning, *viz.* 19th of *May*, We saw a sail a head of us, standing along shore, and having now lost our pilot, I was the more desirous to speak with her, and therefore let go the bark we had in tow, and made all the sail we could after her ; we gained very little upon her all the day ; but had, nevertheless, got a great way a head of our bark, wherein were four of our own people, and five Spaniards. The night coming on, and perceiving that we did not come near the ship before us very fast, and seeing but little probability of coming up with her, I was inclined to bring to, that the *Holy Sacrament* might come up with us, rather than run the hazard of losing her by making so much sail all night, but every one was averse to it from the highest to the lowest, who were obstinate in their opinion that there could be no cessation, and would give ear to nothing I could say, so all our sail was kept abroad all night ; and the next morning, 20th of *May*, by day-break, we were within less than gun-shot of the chase. I immediately ordered our colours to be spread, and fired a gun to leeward, and sent a man upon our poop to wave a flag of truce ; but they, upon the first sight

of our English ensign, fired at us, and so continued to do, with their decks full of men, hollowing and abusing us with the grossest appellations ; notwithstanding this, I made no return until I came close upon their quarter, and then sent one of their countrymen to the bow-sprit-end to inform them in Spanish, that we were bound to Panama, and desired to treat peaceably with them, and hoped, at least, that they would have some regard to the white flag which they saw flying ; but still they continued their fire, and *Borachos*, and *Peros Ingleses*, i.e. drunkards and English dogs, and vile threatenings was all we could get from them ; therefore finding they were deaf to every thing we could say to them, and that while we were suing for peace we exposed ourselves in a tame manner to be knocked on the head, and perceiving that the more compliant our deportment was, the more inhumanly they insulted us, imagining, perhaps, that our strength consisted but of one gun, as when we formerly engaged the *Margarita* and *St. Francisco Palacio*, and presuming thereupon, that they were sure of a compleat victory, whereby they should have the satisfaction of carrying us by force prisoners to Panama ; in short, not doubting but by our quiet behaviour, that we had it not in our power to defend ourselves ; they, with that presumption, were coming to board us, which as soon as I perceived, I deemed it full time to begin with them, and therefore met them with our helm,[1] and soon convinced them of their error ; for instead of one gun, we had now nine ; and, in a word, gave them so warm and unexpected a reception, that they sheered round off from us ; we just missed getting hold of them, but it falling almost calm, we continued our engagement for the space of two or three hours at the dis-

[1] Brought the ship broadside-on.

tance of musquet-shot ; but, at length, a breeze wafting us nearer to them, we found that as fast as we approached so fast did their courage cool ; but their Captain still bravely persisting, and encouraging them to renew their vigour, and exposing himself in the most open manner, was, at length, shot through the body, and dropped down dead ; upon this they immediately, with one voice, cryed out for quarter, and put an end to our dispute ; we called out to them to hoist out their launch, but they answered, that their tackles, and all their rigging in general was so shattered that they could not possibly do it in any time ; therefore we hoisted out our canoe, which we had taken out of the *Holy Sacrament* the morning before, and Mr. Randall, and two or three more went in her on board the prize. They found all the prisoners in the most submissive posture, asking for mercy, which they could have no great cause to expect, after their direct breach of the laws of *arms* and *nations*.

Mr. Randall sent away the most considerable of the prisoners, who informed me that their ship was called the *de Conception de Recova*, belonging to Callao, but came last from Guanchaco, of the burthen of 200 ton, laden with *flour*, *loaves of sugar*, *bales of boxes of marmalade*, *jars of preserved peaches*, *grapes*, *limes*, &c. mounted 6 guns, and had 70 odd men well provided with small arms, &c. and was in particular one of those ships who were fitted out in an extraordinary manner, and commissioned to take us, so that she was the second of those warlike merchant ships that we had taken. In this engagement the Spanish Captain and a negroe were killed, and one or two slightly wounded ; but their rigging, masts, and sails were much disabled, particularly their fore-mast, which, by a shot that passed through the body of it, was much shattered. On our part,

there was little or no hurt done, except to our gunner who was slightly wounded in the forehead by a pistol-ball, and our main-mast, which had a small piece carried out of the side of it. We had now about 80 prisoners of all colours, and not above 26 of ourselves.

When the Spanish gentlemen came on board, they would not give me time to ask them, how it came to pass that they would not hearken to our peaceable offers, but fell upon excusing themselves, and laying all the fault upon their dead Captain, though they afterwards confessed that they were all in general glad that they had met us in the morning, and made no doubt that they should easily master us, and thinking they were well assured of our weakness, made but little account of us ; but that after seeing we suffered their fire so long, and heard what we said to them, they all declared against using any farther violence. But the poor gentleman who was dead (Don Joseph Desorio) vowed, in a passion, that we should have no terms but his own, and that he would take us by force. And indeed it is my opinion that this was the inclination of all of them, till they found our strength and resolution, and then seeing their own case desperate, would have been for a parley. It would certainly have been a welcome morsel to have feasted their pride, if they could have obtained what they proposed to themselves, but it pleased Providence to order it otherwise, and their insulting haughtiness was soon converted to an abject submission. Amongst our prisoners we had several of note, particularly Don Baltazzar de Abarca Conde de la Rosa, an European nobleman, who had been for some time Governour of Pisco, on the coast of Peru, and was now upon his return to Spain, and Capt. Morel, who had formerly been taken by Capt. Rogers, &c. all of them were treated with

the utmost civilities, which they the more wondered at, because from a prevailing notion they have formerly had of our cruisers, and from a self-conviction of their own ungenerous behaviour towards their prisoners, they could not but have expected to have been dealt with very roughly. I must here observe, that upon their being first sent on board of us, they were astonished to see my people so thin sown, our scanty number not making any manner of show in so large a ship as ours, and those that remained of us being clean shaved, they pronounced my people to be lads, from the artificial smoothness of their faces, and regretted their hard fate in being taken by such an inconsiderable company of boys, as they termed them.

We were now within 30 leagues of Panama, and in the tract of all the shipping bound thither, therefore, as we could not think of doing any thing with the *Conception*, who was so heavily laden with such things (mostly) as could only serve us by way of provisions. We spent two days in overhauling her cargoe, which was tedious and laborious ; but the prisoners did the greatest part of the work.

All this while little winds and calms prevented us from joining our bark till the 22nd of *May*. We bore down to her, and being pretty near, wondered that she only came to and fell off, although all her sail was set ; nor could I perceive any body stirring in her. As soon as we came up with her, I sent the boat aboard, and the officer that went in her immediately called out to me, telling me that there was no soul in her, but that her decks and quarters were covered with blood. This was a melancholy hearing, since it plainly appeared by many positive circumstances, that the Spanish crew had murdered those of my people who were sent to assist them ; a cruel return for our civilities

and services to them ! It seemed strange to me that our men should suffer themselves, or run the least hazard of exposing themselves to be thus butchered ; for they were four in number, compleatly armed, and there were but five of the Spanish crew, two of which were boys. These vile wretches, doubtless, took the opportunity of the English being lost in sleep, and then, murdered them, not doubting but that they should meet with thanks and encouragement for so foul a barbarity. The names of those thus destroyed were John Giles, John Emblin, John Williams and George Chappel. But it is very probable that those murderers paid with their lives the loss of those lives they had taken away, for being above 4 leagues from the land, and having no boat, they probably jumped into the sea on the approach of our ship, thinking they should meet immediate death if they had fallen into our power, as a just reward of so horrid a crime, which they themselves were so sensible of, that they endeavoured to conceal the deck, which was dyed with gore, by throwing the flocks, &c. of beds over it, so that till they were removed, the blood was not to be seen.

This tragical accident was the cause of a general melancholy amongst us, and spoiled the satisfaction we had enjoyed a day or two past on the account of our late prize. Our prisoners seeing such a universal sudden change in us, began to be alarmed, and looked at one another, as if they all expected to undergo the same fate our unhappy fellows met with.

This made me fearful on the other side, least their dreadful apprehensions of our revenge upon them, should stir them up to offer at some desperate attempt upon us, they they being 80 in number, and we not above 17 on board at that time, and when we were all together not above 25 that

could stand on their legs ; therefore I was directly forced to shew some heat in ordering all our prisoners to go into the stern gallery (which was very large) except the nobleman, and some of the chief of them ; whilst we kept a guard in the great cabbin. The Spanish gentlemen who had not this confinement, in a very moving manner lamented to me the unhappy deaths of my men, and their own hard fate in having been, in some measure, eye-witnesses of this bloody murder, and let fall some expressions whereby I perceived they were afraid that I intended to use some severities towards their people on this occasion. Having a good interpreter between us (who was an Englishman we had taken on board the *Conception*) I assured them, that if I had so revengeful an inclination, the laws of my country deterred me from putting it in execution ; that I acted by virtue of my *King's Commission*, who, in his orders, forbad, in the strictest manner, all acts of inhumanity or unwarrantable oppression towards our prisoners, which assurance I desired might make them perfectly easy, if they had not a confidence sufficient to convince them of the natural abhorrence our nation had to barbarity. This dispersed their fears, and our discourse on this head was ended by them with compliments of the highest nature on the British Crown and Government ; and solemnly promised, that if it was possible any of those murderers could be living, the two kingdoms of Peru and Mexico should be alarmed to bring them to justice, and begged of me to think myself secure as to themselves, and the rest of their country-men, my prisoners, who would sooner suffer any thing than harbour any thought in their heads that might be any way prejudicial to our lives or liberties, even though they should have the most encouraging opportunity of putting it in

practice, and assured me, on their honour, that they thought they never should be able to make a just return for the generous entertainment they had met with from me.

Notwithstanding this, I took some measures to secure our prisoners of the meaner sort, and then hauled the *Holy Sacrament* along side of us ; she was half full of water, and the greatest part of her dryed beef was wet and spoiled, but all that was not damaged we took out, together with some live hogs, and then gave her to Don Baltazzar de Espina, who, by the death of Capt. Joseph Desorio, became Captain of the *Conception* ; and that night kept a stricter watch than we had before, though none of us had had scarce any sleep since we had taken this ship.

The next day, being as willing to get rid of them, as they were to have their own ship restored to them, and pursue their voyage ; I delivered the *Conception* into the possession of Don Baltazzar de Espina, &c. after having taken out of her twelve months provision of *bread*, *flour*, *sugar*, and *sweetmeats*, and a like proportion for the *Success*, whom I expected to find at the Tres Marias, being then a stranger to Clipperton's faithless desertion. I likewise took away their launch, and their negroes to assist us in the management of our ship, knowing that we could not well hold out much longer, if the work was not made more easy, and since we had a large ship, and a run of 175 degrees to sail, I thought we could do no other than reinforce ourselves by the assistance of these blacks, who are commonly good sailors in these parts, and indeed, as it afterwards happened, we should never have reached the coasts of Asia, or any other land without them.

Thus having supplied ourselves with every thing the *Conception* afforded, I suffered our prisoners to return to

their ship, but the chief of them would not leave me till they had drawn up a writing, signed by themselves, whereby they acknowledged the circumstances of our engagement, and the civility they met with from me, &c. In short, none could part in a more friendly manner than we did; for I ordered the Conde de Rosa should be saluted with 9 guns when he put off from our ship, and they, in return, wished us a good voyage by way of Huzza, which they often repeated. We had them but 3 days in our possession, and now restored them to their liberty; the *Conception* and bark standing with their heads towards Panama, and we with ours to *seawards*. Thus we were put by our design of surrendering, and were now going to undertake a long hazardous voyage for Asia; it might be called hazardous to us, on account of our being but indifferently prepared for it, either in rigging or sails, (although we had taken what we thought could be of any use to us out of the *Conception*) and for many other reasons unnecessary to mention. Our strength indeed was considerably augmented, for we had now 15 guns and ammunition enough to supply them; this might be serviceable to us when we arrived on the Asian coast against pyrates; but as we were on the point of departing from these seas, the Spaniards would receive no farther damage by it.

But before we proceeded any farther, it was requisite to think of getting our full stock of water. The Island of Quibo was too near, and had this other inconveniency attending, that the *Vendavals* began to approach, which is, as I have already observed, is a season of black squally weather, and therefore did not care to trust our ground tackling to stand the proof of such strong gusts, amidst so many small islands; and, in the next place, we should be

there too near to Panama, from whence, if there should happen to be a ship of war, they might soon be with us. Upon these considerations, it was determined to ply up to Cano, where, having a good boat, we soon did our business. In our passage thither the sweetmeats, of all kinds, were divided among the messes, but one of the fellows complained he had a box of marmalade he could not stick his knife into, and desired it might be changed. I opened it, and found a cake of virgin silver in it, moulded on purpose to fill such boxes, and being very porous, was of near the same weight of so much marmalade, the weight being 200 pieces of eight; in overhauling the rest we found five more; this was a contrivance to defraud the King of Spain of his fifths, which he lays a claim to in all the silver taken out of any of the mines in Peru. We, doubtless, left a great many behind us, so that this deceit served them in a double capacity, of wronging their King, and blinding their enemies. An affair as vexatious as this fell out on board a prize the *Success* had taken, where they found a very considerable quantity of *Pinnas*, or virgin silver, in the form of bricks, very artfully plastered over with clay, and dryed in the sun, as they never burn their bricks in that country, they took them to be really such, and therefore threw a great number of them overboard as so much rubbish, and made no discovery till the four or five last pieces. How true this is I can't say, but it was reported to me, as a matter of fact, by several of the officers belonging to Capt. Clipperton.

I must here observe, that every thing we took in the *Conception*, was divided according to the Juan Fernandian articles, and I had no more than six instead of sixty shares, and they would not even allow me the money I had laid out at St. Catherines, which was upwards of 100 pounds; but

the thoughts and hopes I then had of meeting the *Success* at the Tres Marias, or Puerto Seguro, made me easy, both on the owners account, and my own, and I did not doubt of being a welcome guest to Capt. Clipperton. That which confirmed me in my hopes was the repeated assurances that Capt. Clipperton gave me, that he would not return to the Southward in five months, that he should be obliged to go to one of these ports to refit, and that he had a great deal of work to do, but I was at a loss to know how to prevail with my people to go so far to the Northward ; for they had learned that our tract to India lay in the *parallel* of 13 deg. 00 min. North, or thereabouts, so that when I talked to them of going to California, in the latitude of 23 deg. 5 min. North, they seemed surprized, and told me that it was a madness to run so much out of our way to windward, and grumbling said, that they should get to India in the time we should get to Porto Seguro, and that we should beat and tear our rigging and sails to pieces.

Thus they argued with a great deal of reason ; but I was resolved to acquit myself in the best manner I could, and not have it said, that I left these coasts without using my endeavours to join the *Success* again, and therefore formed all the pretences I could to gain my ends ; I told them they were all strangers to the nature of the *Monssoons* and *Tuffoons* on the coast of India and China, and that I was well acquainted with the seasons on both coasts, and assured them, that we should run into the greatest dangers imaginable if we arrived in those seas before the latter end of *October*. I desired them seriously to consider that we had almost one half of the circumference of the globe to go, before we should have an opportunity to make any repair, or get a supply of any thing ; that therefore we ought carefully to

look for any defects in the ship's bottom which but single, and pretty much worm-eaten already, and bream[1] as low as we could to destroy the worm, and give her a good coat of pitch and tallow, since our whole run would be in the way of those destroyers, and that we ought, moreover, to make a farther tryal of our *tank*, which had always failed us hitherto, whether by roguery, or leaks we could never yet tell, and since it contained the greatest part of our water, our lives depended upon the firmness of that.

They all approved of what I had said, but were extreamly unwilling to sail so far to the Northward, and proposed doing all this in the Gulph of Amapala, or that of Nicoya, or somewhere thereabouts.[2] But in answer to this I told them, that it would be unsafe to attempt to do any thing in those places, the enemy having several ports near at hand; that, in short, it was in such a manner that Capt. Clipperton formerly had a rich prize retaken from him though he had one ship of 24 and another of 16 guns, yet a parcel of canoes took them both; besides, that the worm had a much greater effect on the ships bottom by lying in still muddy water, than at sea; therefore going to California would divert our time in waiting for a safe season to venture to the other side of the world, and that there we should be out of danger of being surprized. That the Westing we should gain in going to California, would make amends for what we should lose by going so far to the Northward, and that from thence I did not doubt (after we had done our business) but that we should gain our passage in forty or fifty days.

[1] Clean by singeing.
[2] In Central America.

CHAPTER XIII

VOYAGE TO THE SOUTHERNMOST PART OF CALIFORNIA

HAVING thus effected my desire, I weighed from Cano, steering to the Northward, and had favourable gales for 48 hours ; then came on the constant, or what may be called the trade wind on this coast, blowing from the W.N.W., except in the night, that it comes about more Northerly, and sometimes (but very rarely) in the height of the sea-breeze it is at W.S.W. and S.W. These winds being as contrary to us as any could be, we made but a bad hand on't in gaining to windward ; and having before experienced the tediousness of coasting along this shore, I was willing to try how far off shore these winds prevailed, which, in my opinion, may be called the eddy of the true trade, whose course is perverted by the interposition of this vast mountainous continent.

Accordingly I found that at 60 leagues distance we had light winds, and variable, and between 70 and 80 leagues distance, it settled at E.N.E. and N.E. therefore I kept this distance from the land till we had run the height of 20 deg. 00 min. North, and were not, in all this passage, in the least sensible of any currents, and were entirely out of the way of the frightful riplings and over-falls of the water, which we frequently met withal nearer to the land, which often alarmed us in the night, when we have been becalmed in deep water.

We used to hear a noise as of the fall of water passing through a bridge, a considerable time before it came to us, which would pass by us at a very swift rate ; all the effect

it had on the ship was to make her answer her helm wildly, if we had any wind ; but when it has happened that we met these moving waters very near the shore, we could not perceive that we either gained or lost any way by them, tho' we have continued in them for a quarter of an hour together. I have observed these over-falls to come both from the Westward and Eastward, but by getting out to sea, we were not only clear of the inconveniences I have been mentioning, but were also out of the way of the black season, which began to be fixed on the coasts, for at Cano, and in going thither, we felt very hard gusts, with black lowring weather, frequent and violent thunder and lightning, attended by heavy showers of rain.

In this passage we were continually accompanied by vast shoals of fish, such as *dolphin*, *bonita*, *albicore*, and *angel-fish*, which is in shape like a *salmon* and has scales like them, but has a tail like a *dolphin*, and also nearly resemble them, when in the water, they appearing in all the beautiful colours that the *dolphin* has, and as for eating, it is by much the best fish that swims near the surface. But we were continually incommoded by numerous flocks of the birds so well known by the name of *Boobies*, which are generally the attendants of such shoals of fish ; they disobliged us very much by the stench of their dung, for our ship being their resting place, they had painted all our yards, tops and decks, which they fouled as fast as we could clean them. However, for change of diet, some of my people made ragouts of them, and the smoakers made stems for their pipes of their long wing bones.

We fell in with Cape Corientes in the beginning of *August*, and were immediately carried to the Tres Marias by a hard gale at South, and anchored under the lee of the

middlemost island, but had no sight of the *Success*, and could see no sign of her having been there. After a tedious search on all the three islands for fresh water, there was nothing like a stream to be found. This was the more astonishing to us, by as much as one or two of our late navigators have reported that it was to be found there in sufficient plenty ; perhaps it might have been so when they were there, but there was no such thing now, so that all that a ship must expect in going there now, must be only turtle, except those runs of water which were formerly there, should be renewed again, which I would not advise any one to depend upon.

After having been three days among these islands, I stretched over for California, and arrived upon that coast on the 11th of *August*. The inhabitants, as soon as they discovered us, made fires on the shore as we ran by them ; towards the evening, it falling calm, two of them came off to us on a *bark-log*, but were a long time before they would accept of our invitation to come into the ship ; at length, after a great many pressing signs which we made to them they ventured in, when, in a moment, seeing the whites and our blacks promiscuously standing together, they, with very angry countenances, separated them from us, and would hardly suffer them to look upon us ; they then made signs to us all to set down, which done, one of them put himself into strange postures, and ran from one to the other of us, talking to us with much vehemence, and seemed to be in a perfect transport of extasy, continually singing (in their way) or speaking and running about so fast till he was out of breath, so that it was doubtless an adoration they paid us, from doing which nothing could divert them for some time. The night coming on they were for

departing, and we gave them a knife or two, an old coat, and some other trifles, which pleased them very well; they expressed themselves by signs in such a manner that we could guess that they gave us repeated invitations to go ashore with them.

On *Sunday*, 13th of *August* 1721. At daybreak we found ourselves near Puerto Seguro, which may be readily known by three white rocks, not much unlike the Needles of the Isle of Wight. You will not discover the road until you are round these rocks, and must keep close aboard the outermost to fetch into the bay. But of this I shall speak more fully when I come to the description of this place; and shall, therefore, return to give an account of the behaviour of the inhabitants upon our approach to them; some of whom came out on *bark-logs* to meet us, whilst others got upon the tops of the hills and rocks near the sea-side, making fires for us. There was an universal joy spread through the whole body of them; those that were near the rocks to see us come in, incessantly running up and down to one another, and those who came out to us on *bark-logs*, paddled with all their strength, impatient to have a nearer view of us. Thus we entered Puerto Seguro, surrounded by these small embarkations, and the shore, on all sides, crowded with the Indians, whose number encreased by multitudes which flocked from the adjacent parts.

Our anchor was no sooner down, than they came off to us in shoals, some few on their *bark-logs*, but most of them swimming, talking and calling out to one another in a confused manner. Our ship was in an instant full of these swarthy gentlemen quite naked, amongst the rest was their *King*, or *Chief-man*, whom we could not distinguish by any particular ornament, nor by any deference that was paid

to him more than to the rest ; the only ensign of *sovereignty* which he bore about him, was a black round stick made of a hard wood, of about two foot and an half in length ; this being observed by some of my people, they brought him to me ; upon which he concluding that I was the chief of the ship, in a very handsome manner, delivered his black sceptre to me, which I immediately returned to him. This man, notwithstanding his savage appearance, had a good countenance, and his behaviour had something of the genteel in it. I was, at first, at a loss to know how to entertain our numerous guests, but soon found out a way to regale them, for we had a great quantity of *liquid sweetmeats* ; I therefore ordered what deep dishes I had to be brought on the deck, the jars were broached, and the dishes we filled with the choicest of Peruvian conserves ; they were every one accommodated with spoons, and though they could not sit very regularly to their entertainment, because of their numbers, who had all an equal welcome to the good chear, yet, as we kept continually replenishing their empty dishes, they were all satisfied with as much as they cared to eat ; their food they liked extreamly well, if I may have leave to affirm it from the eagerness wherewith they ate it ; and the spoons, which were mostly silver, they returned with great honesty, which they would doubtless have done had they been gold, the value of those metals being, (and perhaps always will be) unknown to them.

Having thus commenced a friendship with them, I thought it would not be unsafe to send an officer ashore to view the watering place ; but to make him the more welcome, I sent with him some coarse blue baise, and some sugar, as a present to the women, amongst whom it was to be equally distributed. The King seeing our boat ready to

put off, was for waiting on her with his *bark-log*, but I, (as well as I could) entreated him to take a passage in our boat, which he seemed to be mightily pleased with.

The remainder of the day was spent in an interview between us and our wild visitors, who behaved themselves in general very quietly and peaceably. The officer returning with an account of his civil reception, we prepared our casks to send ashore the next morning. Indeed from some accounts which I had read concerning these people, I did not apprehend any molestation from them in wooding and watering, though a first view of the country and inhabitants would dishearten one a little from venturing freely amongst them ; they even appeared so terrible to our negroes, who had been born in Guinea, (where they are not very polite) that one of them who was sent with the officer on shore, was afraid to stir from the boat, and all the while kept an ax in his hand to defend himself from any that might attack him ; but this dread perhaps proceeded from the contempt which the two first that came off to us had expressed towards our negroes, in driving them from the whites. As soon as the night approached, all the Indians swam ashore again, so that we had the pleasure of a clear ship to rest ourselves in after the fatigue of the day.

By day-break the next morning our boat went ashore with those designed to cut the wood, and fill the water, and before the sun was up, we were again crowded with our former guests, who seemed as if they never could be tired with gazing at us and our ship. But that nothing should be wanting in us to keep up the amity we had already contracted, I ordered a great boiler to be carried ashore, with good store of flower and sugar, and a negroe cook to be continually boiling hasty-pudding, for the numerous

spectators on the beach ; and it really behoved us to endeavour to keep in their favour, since, whether in the ship, or on the strand, we were wholly in their power, those on shore being perpetually surrounded by multitudes, and we in the ship were from morning till night so incommoded by them that we could hardly move fore and aft through the throng of them.

They, at first, proved to be idle lookers on, till their natural compassion for the few of my men, whom they saw rolling of great casks of water over the heavy sand in the sultry heat of the day, enclined them to help us, together with the kind treatment they met with from us, and the particular readiness of their chief to serve us, by shewing his people a good example ; for, after Mr. Randall, my Lieutenant, he took up the second log of wood to carry to the boat, and was immediately followed by two or three hundred of them, so that they eased my men of a great fatigue, and shortned the time we should have occasion to stay at this place ; they likewise rolled our cask down to the boat, but always expected a white face to assist them, who, if he did but touch it with his finger, it was sufficient encouragement for them to persevere in their labour ; we even found means to make those that used to be all day on board useful to us, for when we came to heel the ship, we crowded them all over on one side, which, together with other shifts, gave us a very considerable heel, while we cleaned and payed our bottom with pitch and tallow, and so tractable were they, that they would sit very quietly on the side they were bid to go to, till we ordered them to disperse themselves that we might bring the ship upright again. Thus they repayed our civilities by their services, and every day they seemed more and more fond of us. When our

boat went ashore in the morning, there was a constant equipage waiting for our people on the beach, and particularly for those who by a better dress, they guessed to be above the common rank ; these they always received with such formal ceremonies as could not be expected in such a place ; for as soon as they came out of the boat they were immediately laid hold of by two Indians, who led them between them, and were followed by a great many couples, hand in hand ; thus they led them up to the river, and then left them to their own liberty to proceed in the direction and execution of their business.

Mean while the rumour of our arrival was spread through all the neighbouring parts, and some of different clans from those who inhabited the land about this bay, came daily to view us ; those who came from any distance in the country could not swim, and that they were different from those we had first seen, appeared by their manner of painting themselves, and other little distinctions which were visible amongst them ; but they all united in one to assist us, and hardly any were idle but the women, who used to sit in circles on the scorching sand to give attendance for their share of what was going forwards, which they used to receive without any quarrelling amongst them about the inequality of the distribution, although some, who had nothing to serve them instead of spoons, fared but poorly. But at last there were few of them that had not something to serve them to eat their spoon meat, encouraged thereto by our constant supplies of it, with which we fed several hundreds every day. Thus by a mutual exchange of good offices towards one another, they thought themselves happy in us, and we thought ourselves fortunate in meeting so timely and necessary assistance ; for it is probable that my

men might have contracted some dangerous sickness in working so laboriously in the heat of the day, after being, in a manner, worn out by what they had already undergone.

Having compleated our business in the space of five days, we, on the 18th of *August* in the morning, prepared for our departure in the afternoon, and employed the morning in making a large distribution of sugar amongst the women, and to the men we gave a great many knives, old axes, and old iron, which we had taken in our prizes, these were the most useful things to them, and of which they stood most in need ; in return, some of them gave us bows and arrows, deer-skin-bags, live foxes, and squirrels, &c.

That we might appear as awful to them as possible, I ordered five guns to be fired on the loosing our top-sails, the noise of which mightily frightned them, and upon seeing our sails loosed, there was an universal damp upon their spirits, which might be easily perceived by the lively sorrow that was painted upon all their countenances ; their women were all in tears, when my people had executed their orders, and were coming off to the ship ; and a great many of the men stayed in the ship all the while we were purchasing our anchor, and did not offer to stir till we were under sail, and then with the most dejected aspects leaped overboard with the most apparent regret. That evening we took our departure from Cape St. Lucas, in our way to China. But I must stop here to give some account of this part of this country and inhabitants, which we are as little acquainted with as any of the known parts of the world.

CHAPTER XIV

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERNMOST PART OF CALIFORNIA, AND ITS INHABITANTS

The Eastern coast of that part of California, which I had a sight of, appears to be mountainous, barren, and sandy, and very like some parts of Peru ; but, nevertheless, the soil about Puerto Seguro, (and very likely in most of the vallies) is a rich black mould, which, as you turn it fresh up to the sun, appears as if intermingled with gold-dust, some of which we endeavoured to wash and purify from the dirt ; but tho' we were a little prejudiced against the thoughts that it could be possible that this metal should be so promiscuously and universally mingled with common earth, yet we endeavoured to cleanse and wash the earth from some of it, and the more we did, the more it appeared like gold ; but in order to be farther satisfied, I brought away some of it, which we lost in our confusions in China.[1] But be that as it will, it is very probable that this country abounds in metals of all sorts, though the inhabitants had no utensils or ornaments of any metal whatsoever, which is no wonder, since they are so perfectly ignorant in all arts. This soil produces a plenty of wood, but the trees are very small, hardly deserving a better name than that of bushes. But woods, which are an ornament to most other countries, serve only to make this appear the more desolate ; for the

[1] This has been claimed as the first mention of the Californian gold-field, but wrongly, for Shelvocke only visited the end of the Mexican peninsula of Lower California, much further to the south.

locusts swarm there in such abundance, that they don't leave a green leaf on any of the trees ; in the day time these destructive insects are perpetually on the wing, flying in clouds (if I may so call it) and are extreamly troublesome by flying in one's face. They are in shape and bigness the nearest like our green grasshoppers, but differ from them in their colour, which is yellow ; no sooner had we come to an anchor, than they came off to us in such abundance, that the sea about us was strewed with their dead bodies. Thus by the incessant ravages of these locusts the prospect of the country about, is stripped into the naked appearance of winter, notwithstanding the natural warmth of the climate, and the seeming goodness of the soil. I don't know that any of our former navigators have observed this in their accounts of this place ; and therefore am perswaded that they are troubled with this plague but at this season of the year ; and, in confidence of this, I gave them a large quantity of calavances, and shewed them how to sow them. But if these creatures are with them all the year round, it will never be of use to them.

The men are tall, strait, and well set, have very large limbs, with coarse black shaggy hair, which does not reach down to their thighs, as a late navigator reports in his voyage, or hardly down to their shoulders. The women are of a much smaller size, their hair much longer than the men's, with which some of their faces are almost covered. Some of both sexes have good countenances, but of a much darker complexion than any Indians I saw in these seas, these being of a deep copper colour.

Such is the original simplicity prevailing amongst them, that the men go quite naked, without the least thing to cover them, and wear nothing at all but a few trifles, which

they look upon as ornaments, such as a band of red and white silk grass, which some wear round their heads, adorned on each side with a tuft of hawk's feathers ; others have pieces of mother of pearl, and small shells tyed in their hair, and hanging about their necks ; some have a large necklace of 6 or 7 strings, composed of small red and black dryed berries ; some are scarified all over their bodies, others use a kind of paint, some besmearing only their faces and breasts with black, and others are regularly painted all over from the face to the navel with black, and from thence down to their feet with red.

The women on the contrary wear a thick fringe of silk grass reaching from their middle down to their knees, and have a deer skin carelessly wrapped over their shoulders, some of the better sort had the skin of a large bird.

From what I have been relating of their personal appearance, my reader may reasonably conclude that nothing can be more savage. But there is a wide difference between what one would, upon the first sight, expect to find from them, and what they really are ; for by all that I could discern in their behaviour towards one another, and their deportment towards us, they are endued with all the humanity imaginable, and may make some nations (who would give these poor people the epithet of *savages* and *barbarians*) blush to think that they deserve that appellation more than they ; for all the time we were there, and constantly amongst so many hundreds of them, there was nothing to be perceived but the most agreeable harmony, and most affectionate esteem for one another ; insomuch that when any of us gave any thing that was eatable to any one of them in particular, he always divided it into as many shares as there were persons about him, and commonly

reserved the least for himself ; they seldom walk single, but go most by pairs, hand in hand. They appear to be perfectly meek, and there is no indication of cruelty in either their aspects or actions ; they indeed seem to be pretty haughty towards their women, which perhaps may proceed from too great an opinion of the superiority of their own sex.

In the main, they lead a careless life, and have every thing in common amongst them, and search for nothing except the necessary supports of life, *viz.* meat and drink, by which means they are free from the anxious troubles to which those nations are subject where luxury and pride have got any footing ; a solid content seems to dwell in the midst of them, so that they covet (and have no reason for it) nothing belonging to one another ; and never offered to pilfer or steal any of our tools, and other utensils, which might have been of great service to them. So strict was their honesty in this particular, that some of my men, who had been cutting wood all day, and were coming on board in the evening, heedlessly forgetting that they had left their axes in the wood, it was observed by one of the Indians standing by, that they had not taken their tools with them, who immediately spoke to the King (who was also standing to see our boat go off) who sent him directly into the woods to fetch the axes, which he accordingly did, and delivered them to my people with a seeming satisfaction that they did not go away without them. In a word, they seem to pass their lives in the purest simplicity of the earliest ages of the world, before discord and contention were heard of amongst men. They as yet have never been tainted by the conversation or intercourse of other nations, which might have perverted the innocence of their morals, and have never had their

spirits chafed by the oppressions of a conqueror, who by exercising cruelties over them, might have taught them to delight in barbarity, as has happened to the Indians of Mexico and Peru, who doubtless had their notions of inhumanity greatly augmented by the Spaniards, who shewed them a horrid example by their continual butcheries of the Indians, not so much as sparing their kings, and also by their commotions amongst themselves. As yet the Californians may be said to act according to the dictates of nature, whilst we act contrary to the just remonstrances of our reason. One of our late navigators has represented them as idle, and lazy, and jealous of their women, alledging that he could never have a sight of any but such as were old. I can't tell how that gentleman and his people treated them, but we found, that they are not slothful so much by inclination as a disuse from any thing laborious; and as to their women, we had the company of some hundreds of young and old every day, who never made any scruple of appearing amongst us; nor did the men shew the least discontent at it; and I may venture to say that we engaged them so far by trifling presents and entertainments, that no body upon those terms, need want their assistance for the future; though perhaps none may have so much provisions to spare us as I had at that time to regale them with. I must not omit one thing, in which they would always have the mastery of us, and that was in taking snuff, which they would never permit any of us to use; but immediately upon seeing any of us take a pinch out of our boxes, they would run to us, and with great earnestness take it from between our fingers, and throw it away. What could be the grounds of this aversion I can't conceive, except that some of them had suffered death or sickness

by taking some particular thing up their nose ; they likewise would never suffer me to look through my prospective, imagining that there was something extraordinary in that piece of wood, that I had so often recourse to it, to look on the shore, which I did to see how the work went on on the beach, they not apprehending that it was possible that my eyes could receive any assistance by it.

Their language is guttural and harsh to the ear ; they talked very much among themselves, but we never could so much as understand one word, so that what I have now delivered is not what I learned from their language, but from their actions, which are sufficiently expressive of what I have been relating ; I had once some thoughts of bringing some of them away with me, especially some of the youngest, that they might learn our language, and give us some information of their country ; but as we could not make them understand us, we must have seemed to them to have taken them away by force, which, perhaps, might have exasperated them, which would have been of ill consequence to such ships as may have occasion to go there for the future, and therefore I laid aside all designs of that kind.

As to their manner of living in general ; their dwellings are very mean, and can scarce shelter them, and their diet, I believe, is mostly fish, which they frequently eat raw ; they sometimes bake it in the sand ; they seldom need want a supply of this, the men being expert harpooners, they go out to sea on their bark-logs, which are only composed of five logs of a light wood, made fast to one another by wooden pegs ; on these they venture out, rowing with a double paddle, and with their harpoons (which are made of a sort of hard wood) strike the largest albicores, and bring them in ; this was altogether surprizing to us, who had so often

experienced the strength of that fish, for though we frequently got hold of them with very large hooks made fast to a strong rope, we were obliged to bring the ship to, to get them in, and that by the help of nine or ten men, which is as much as they can sometimes do, so that one would imagine that as soon as these Indians had struck one of these on his light embarkation, that it would run away with him and his bark-log, but they have some particular way of managing them, that their resistance and struggling is in vain. When we were there it was their fishing season, but by the number of deer-skins one sees amongst them, it is natural to conclude, that they have a season for deer also ; their skins are grey, as are also their foxes and squirrels, all these they eat promiscuously together, with any thing else they can catch. There are hardly any birds there, except a few pelicans. What they use instead of bread is very remarkable, being a small black seed of an oily substance, which they grind in some such manner as we do our chocolate, and afterwards make it up in rolls, though the looks of it is not very inviting (being very black) yet the taste is not very disagreeable. When they want to drink they go up to their middle in the river, and there take up the water between their hands, or stoop down and suck it up. Thus between hunting, fishing, eating, and sleeping, their time is divided, which by these exercises, and the sparingness of their diet, is prolonged to a great duration, and many of both sexes live to a very old age, as their grey hairs and extraordinary wrinkles testify.

Their arms are bows and arrows ; their bows are about 6 foot in length, and their arrows seem to be somewhat too long for their bows ; considering they have no tools requisite to make such things, it must take them up a great deal of time in the making and contriving them ; their bow-strings

are made of deer's sinews, and their arrows are composed of a hollow cane two thirds of their length, and the other next the point is of a heavy kind of wood, headed with a piece of flint, and sometimes agate, the edges of which are cut in teeth like a saw, and the point is pretty sharp. They made no manner of show of their arms to us, and it was rare to see any in the hands of any of the men. The women commonly go out with them in the woods in search of game, which is their chief employment. They have need of some arms to defend them against wild beasts, for I saw some of the men who had received great hurts from them, particularly one old man, who had his thigh almost torn in pieces by the paws of some tyger or lyon, and his thigh, tho' quite healed, yet appeared like one continued scar.

It is impossible for me to say any thing in particular of their government; but this I may safely affirm, that it is neither very strict nor rigorous; what laws they can have amongst them may be reduced to very narrow bounds where justice can have no employ but to revenge murder, which I am perswaded they are never wilfully guilty of. When their king was ashore he used to be attended by a train of a great many couples, hand in hand. In this manner was he coming out of the woods the first morning after our arrival, when perceiving one of my officers cutting down a tree, the Indian prince perceiving some silver lace on his wastecoat, judged him to be better than ordinary, and immediately took an opportunity of shewing both his authority and civility, by ordering one of his attendants to take the ax from him, and work in his stead. In short, in every respect, they seem to enjoy a perfect tranquility, to the happiness of which nothing could be added, but the true knowledge of God, and the right way of worshipping him, though even

then their condition might appear miserable and forlorn to us who have been bred up in a way so widely different from theirs.

Before I conclude this chapter, I cannot but acquaint my reader with a remarkable instance of their activity in the water, which one would almost take to be their natural element. It happened one day whilst I was there, that a monstrous kind of flat fish was sunning himself on the surface of the water near the shore. Some of the Indians seeing him, went into the water to the number of twelve, and surrounded him, who finding himself disturbed, dived, and they went down after him, and twas with much difficulty that he got from them the first time. In an hour afterwards he came again, and 16 or 17 of the Indians swam off, and encompassed him as before, and by tormenting him after a manner peculiar to themselves, they, by their art, insensibly drove him ashore ; for all their strength put together was certainly inconsiderable to his when in the water. When his belly touched the ground, the force with which he smote the beach with his fins is not to be expressed, no more than the agility of the Indians about him, who were endeavouring to kill him, for fear least the surf should set him afloat again. They at length dispatched him by the help of a dagger, which Randall, my Lieutenant, lent them, who was standing by ; they soon cut him in pieces, which were distributed to all that came. This fish, by the nearest computation, was 14 or 15 feet broad, but not so much in length ; notwithstanding he was of the flat kind he was very thick, and had a hideous large mouth. Thus having given the most exact and faithful relation of what I observed of this country, and its inhabitants, I shall proceed to the sequel of my voyage.

CHAPTER XV

OUR PASSAGE BETWEEN CALIFORNIA AND CHINA

THOUGH I could not but be pleased in having compleated our work at Puerto Seguro in a few days, which if we had not been so opportunely assisted, would have taken us a month or two ; yet I had vexation enough to over-ballance the satisfaction of that, when I reflected on the hazards I had run in coming so far in hopes of seeing the *Success*, and the disappointment I lay under in not meeting her, either at the Tres Marias, or California, which gave me the greatest uneasiness ; having sailed a great deal out of my way, and incurred the danger of rendering my ship almost incapable of proceeding to Asia ; for at best our sails and rigging were hardly ever fit to cope with a brisk gale, and were now grown so very thin and rotten, that if in crossing the vast ocean we were going to launch ourselves into, any accident should happen to us in the loss of any of our sails or masts, it would have gone very hard with us, who had no change of either, and far distant from any place where we might find relief. But I had the satisfaction within myself of having added this instance of my endeavours toward the advantage of the expedition in general.

Friday, 18th of *August* 1721. As beforementioned, I sailed from Puerto Seguro, and the same evening took my departure from Cape St. Lucas, in the latitude of 23 deg. 50 min. North, bound to Canton in China, as the most likely place to find English ships homeward bound.

21st of *August*. We discovered an island bearing W.S.W. 110 leagues distant from Cape St. Lucas ; I endeavoured

to get in with it, but could not approach it nearer than the distance of 2 leagues. And the night coming on, and it blowing very fresh, I did not think it proper to lose so much way as we might in the night by laying by, or plying in for it. I judged it to be 7 or 8 leagues in circumference ; on the S.W. of it there appeared a large bay with a high rock in the middle of it ; this isle my people called after my name. From hence we steered down gradually into the parallel of 13 deg. North, but had our way stopped for two or three days by Westerly winds, which none could ever have expected in such latitudes, and at a distance of 5 or 600 leagues from any land ; we grew impatient at such an uncommon delay, and began to dread that we might meet with many such contrary winds in this passage ; we made several conjectures on what might be the cause of it, but none that were very probable ; but the trade wind prevailing again, we kept in the tract of 13 deg. North, except when we judged ourselves to be near the Shoals of St. Bartholomew, and then hauled a degree more Northerly, and so continued for a run of about 60 or 70 leagues.

A fortnight after we had left California, my people, who had hitherto enjoyed an uninterrupted state of health, began to be afflicted with a sickness, which particularly affected their stomachs, which was undoubtedly in the greatest measure owing to the quantities of sweetmeats they were continually devouring, and also to our common food, which was puddings made of very coarse flour and sweetmeats, and salt water instead of fresh to moisten them, and dryed beef, which was partly destroyed by ants, cockroaches, and other vermin ; we could not afford fresh water to boil the kettle once in the whole passage, so that this way of living brought the *scurvey* and other distempers upon us, which

was a melancholy condition for us to be in who had no medicines to apply to those who were already sick, nor to prevent those who were well, from falling into the same state ; this sickness encreased upon us every day, insomuch that out of our small number we buried two in one day, which were John Popplestone, the ingenious armourer, and the carpenter's mate ; besides whom the carpenter, gunner, and several others, together with some of our best negroes dyed, and those who survived, had no great reason to expect otherwise than that they should follow them very speedily. We now laboured under the greatest misfortunes that could happen to us, the greatest part of my people being disabled, and my ship beginning to be very leaky ; and we had, just at this time, the ill luck of having one of our pumps split, and rendered useless. Under these unhappy circumstances were we pushed forward by favourable gales, till we came within 80 leagues of Guam, one of the Ladron Islands, where we met with black dismal weather, with tempestuous winds, varying all around the compass ; this was the more frightful to us by as much as we were not in a condition of helping ourselves, there not being above 6 or 7 that were fit to do any work, though necessity obliged even those that were extreamly out of order to lend what help they could. These boisterous gales had raised such a tumbling sea, wherein our ship laboured so much, that the knee of her head, and the whole beak-head became loose (this may appear strange to one who is not acquainted with their manner of building), so that the bowsprit fetched way, and played with the motion of the ship, and so continued to do all the rest of the time we were out at sea. Our main-mast stood for some time without shrouds on the larboard side, till we could unlay our best cable to make more, having

knotted and spliced the old ones till our labour was in vain. In Peru, where our ship was built and rigged, they seem to have but little regard to the support of their masts, to which their stays and shrouds hold no proportion, and had not our masts at this time been extraordinarily substantial, nothing but a miracle could have preserved us from ending our days upon the sea.

In the midst of all this, I myself was taken violently ill, and had no expectation of living much longer, till the gout seizing upon me, gave me some painful hopes of the continuance of my life. But I, as well as the rest, was void of every necessary required by a sick person, and had not so much as the least drop of spirituous liquor, nor any kind of food that a sick stomach could digest; those of us that were thus out of order, were very subject to fainting fits, in which my people had two or three times given me over for dead, but they did not last long.

In the beginning of *October*, 1721, we made the Island of Guam, 100 leagues short of Capt. Rogers's account, who makes 105 degrees difference of longitude, between this and Cape St. Lucas, and we did not make quite 100 degrees. We passed between the forementioned island and Serpana, and saw several flying prows, but none came near us; that day we had heavy squally weather, which obliged me to keep the deck, where, in the rain, I caught a cold, which threw me into a worse condition than before, in which I continued all the time I was in China. The Island of Guam appears very green, and is of a moderate height; the prospect of land was very agreeable to us, after having run so great a length, and we could, with the greatest pleasure, have stopped to have purchased some refreshment of fruits, such as *lemons*, *Seville oranges*, &c. which would have been

very good for such of us as had the *scurvey*. But though we were upon the point of perishing, we dared not venture in for fear the inhabitants should take the advantage of our weakness to make some attempt upon us. The night after we had seen the Island of Guam, we had our maintopsail split, which, as it happened, proved no loss of way; for, during several days afterwards, we had such weather that we could bear no more than our lower canvas, which sufficiently tryed the strength of our ship, which was now very much impaired, our main beam working and playing at every heel the ship gave.

From Guam I directed my course for the Island Formosa, and now, though the length of our voyage was decreasing very fast, our sickness was daily encreasing upon us in a much greater proportion, so that we, and our ship too, stood in the greatest need of a harbour, but we had a very long passage from the Ladron Islands to Formosa, insomuch that it was the 3rd of *November* before we had any sight of that island; just before we discovered it, we had a sight of the Isle of Bottal Tobacco Xima, lying about 9 leagues to the Northeastward of the Southermost Cape of Formosa, and, as the sun sat, we saw Formosa itself, appearing to be very high land. The next day we rounded the Southern cape of it, and passed within a league of the rocks of Vele Rete, and by them were sensible of a very strong tide or current. The Formosians made several fires as we passed, but we were not in a condition to take any notice of them.

From hence I directed a course for Pedro Blanco, on the coast of China. But on the 6th of *November*, at day break, fell in with the mouth of the river of Loma on that coast, in 12 fathom water. We saw great numbers of fishing boats coming out of that river, and from the adjacent parts, but it

proving very hazey, could not make the land plain enough to discover whereabouts we were, therefore endeavoured to entice some of the fishermen aboard of us to pilot us to Macao ; but for want of understanding each others meanings we could not effect it. We were obliged to keep the land close aboard, and to come to an anchor every evening, which was a mighty fatigue to my ship's company, who were so universally down with the distemper reigning amongst us, that it was as much as we could do to find any body to steer the ship ; thus we were four days lost in the mist, and surprized at the sight of a great many islands which are omitted in our charts, on some of which we saw large fortifications ; this made us believe that the current had carried us to the Southward of our port, and suggested to us every thing that might cast us down ; for though the sea was covered with fishing barks, we could not find any of them that could set us right, or give us any directions we could understand.

But on the 10th of *November*, towards the evening, as we were passing through a very narrow channel, between a couple of islands, a fisherman that was near us, observing by our manner of working that we were half afraid to venture through, made signs with his cap to us to bring to till he came up with us ; when he came, he seemed to understand in general, that we enquired of him about the situation of Macao, and therefore made signs to us, that he would conduct us thither if we would give him as many pieces of silver as he had counted little fish out of his basket, which amounted to forty, we accordingly counted out forty dollars in a hat, and gave them to him, upon which he came into the ship, and took us in charge, and carried us through the narrow channel, and at sun set brought us to anchor ; the

next morning we weighed again, and kept the main land of China close aboard, and at noon he brought us abreast of Pulo Lantoon, from whence we could see two English ships under sail, who were passing by the Island of Macao, in their way from the river of Canton : they took no notice of us, and kept on their way. This made me very uneasy, fearing that we should miss of a passage to England this season.

11th of *November*. In the afternoon we anchored in the road of Macao, a Portuguese settlement near the entrance of the river of Canton, which we never should have found out by any thing we could learn from any of our charts ; I much admire at the incorrectness of these coasts to the Eastward of Pulo Lantoon, for there runs a cluster of islands extending upwards of 20 leagues, which are not in the least taken notice of by our geographers nor did I ever meet with any navigator that knew any thing of them. The coast of China near them is rocky, mountainous, and barren ; but as to the particular situation of these isles my sickness deprived me of all observations I should have made of them.

Macao being a place where ships always stop for a pilot to carry them up the river of Canton ; I sent an officer with a compliment to the Governour, and with orders to bring off a pilot with him. But I heard nothing of him till the next morning, which gave me many disquiet apprehensions. Early the next day there came off a great many of the *Success's* people from Macao aboard of us ; I was amazed at the sight of them, and was, at first, very glad to see them, but my mind changed a little when I heard their story, wherein they acquainted me, that their commander Clipperton had left me designedly, (as I have before related)

that they went directly to Guam, one of the Ladron islands, where they were very well refreshed, and supplyed with provisions. That their Captain there sold the Governour a great quantity of powder and shot, and several other valuable things, and permitted the Marquis of Villa Rocha (who was his prisoner) to go ashore with Mr. Godrey, the agent, and a marine officer, who went to settle the accounts. As soon as they were landed and the boat come off again, Capt. Clipperton weighed with his ship in order to attack a ship of 20 guns from Manila, who had lain quietly in the road with them all the time till now. In approaching her he ran his ship upon the rocks, and soon found the enemy was prepared for him, for they had raised two batteries of half the ships guns to receive him. I am almost ashamed to relate this man's behaviour in this skirmish ; but as I think he deserves to be exposed, I shall divulge it in the manner I received it from his chief officers, who talked of it publickly at Canton ; for Clipperton perceiving his case desperate, and the loss of his ship past redemption to all appearance, had recourse to his case of brandy for a supply of spirits to animate him in making a vigorous defence ; but he took so abundantly of that intoxicating cordial, that he in an instant became dead drunk, and tumbled on the deck, and snored out his time in a beastly manner, whilst his first Lieutenant Davidson undertook the command of the ship, which he bravely executed till he was killed : he was succeeded by Capt. Cook, their second Lieutenant, who made a handsome resistance, and got the ship afloat again, after she had lain on the rocks 48 hours, all which time Clipperton had been lost between sleeping and drinking as fast as he waked, so that he did not recover himself till they were out at sea, and then by his impertinent questions and behaviour,

sufficiently convinced them that he knew nothing of what had passed during their engagement, &c. which lasted two days and two nights. Thus they lost their prisoner the Marquis de la Rocha, and also Mr. Godfrey, the agent-general, and one of their marine officers ; which gave the ship's company such a distaste of Clipperton, that they would not suffer him to have the command of them, and locked him up in his cabbin, and entreated Captain Cook to take the charge of them.

They endured much bad weather between Guam and Amoy in China, whither they got with much difficulty ; there they made a dividend of all they had taken, half to the owners, and half to the ship's company ; from thence Clipperton designed for the streights of Malacca, but his people fearing he had no good intentions in his head, would go no farther than Macao, that being a Christian port ; upon their arrival there, the Governour ordered Clipperton into custody ; it seems he had broke prison formerly from thence, where he had been confined (as far as could be learned) on account of having formerly run away with Dampier's commission, and one of his prizes ; but upon producing his Majesty's commission now for the *Success*, they gave him no farther trouble, and only contented themselves with fleecing him a little. They told me, that the gentlemen-adventurers in England were much obliged to the Governour of this place, who being informed that Clipperton could not be prevailed on to remit their effects home in the English ships lying at Canton, obliged him to send what belonged to them, in one of their own ships, which was ready to depart for Lisbon : here he sold his ship the *Success* for about 1000 pounds sterling. I thought it proper to make this digression for the information of such of the

gentlemen-owners who have thought him blameless that they might pass a judgment on his conduct, since it is certain that he will never, either privately or publickly, let them into the truth of his story.

But to go on with that which concerns myself, on the 12th of *November* 1721. About noon a pilot came off to us, and we immediately weighed, and entered the river of Canton, being assured that there still remained some European ships at Wampo, which is the name of the place where they lie in this river, about 10 miles short of the city of Canton; we were four days plying up to the road between the two lower bars, where finding the *Bonita* and *Hastings*, two English Indian traders, I anchored, and sent an officer to desire them to instruct us how to behave ourselves in this port, and to acquaint me with the customs of it, to which they answered, that since the *Cadogan* and *Frances*, two European English ships were lying at Wampo, they would advise me to send up to their *factories* at Canton, to acquaint them of our arrival, &c. and the reasons which obliged me to come there; which I accordingly did the next day, and borrowed one of their flags to hoist in our boat, without which we should have met with great trouble from the *Hoppo-men*, or custom-house officers; I sent by my officer letters to the Captains of the English ships, signifying the necessity which forced me into these parts, and desired they would, as far as in them lay, make the port safe and useful to us, assuring them that I acted by virtue of his Majesty's commission, which I also sent to them, that they might peruse it.

My boat being gone before me, I weighed the next morning, and worked up to Wampo, where I found, besides two English ships, three French ones, *viz.* the *Galatea*, the

Prince of Conti, and the *Maur*, and also one *Ostender*, and a small ship from Manila. I now thought I was going to rest a little from my labours, not expecting but that I should find such treatment (at least from my own countrymen) as consisted with humanity and common civility, and with all the tender regard and service as is usually administred to people in distress, by such as have it in their power to assist them, though even under no such obligation, as the English especially lay under here of affording me all succour and aid, which his Majesty required from the hands of all such as were in amity with him; but, to my misfortune, felt heavier hardships here (all circumstances considered) than in all the preceding part of my voyage.

CHAPTER XVI

TRANSACTIONS IN THE RIVER OF CANTON

THE same evening that we anchored at Wampo, there happened an accident which gave much trouble afterwards to myself and others of the English gentlemen ; for one of my men being in a hurry to remove his effects on board the *Bonita*, in order to go in her to Fort St. George, the *Bonita's* boat, in which he was, was in her way to their ship pursued by a *Hoppo*, or custom-house boat, who wanted to search them ; the fellow being a little in liquor, and fearing they would take away what silver he had from him, fired a musquet at them, and killed a *Hoppo-man*, or custom-house officer ; early the next morning the corpse was laid at the door of the English factories, and there were Chinese officers lying in wait for the first considerable Englishman that came out, notwithstanding that they had none in particular they could tax with this murder ; it happened that one Mr. C——k, a supercargoe belonging to the *Bonita*, was one of the first that came out, and they immediately seized on him after their manner, and carried him away, and afterwards led him about the suburbs of Canton in chains : all that could be said or done by the most considerable of the Chinese merchants, who were correspondents with the English, availed nothing. In the mean time my man David Griffith, who had committed the fact, and another, were put in irons on board the *Frances*, who was *chopped*, that is, seized till the man who was guilty of the crime was delivered to them, and accordingly he was put into their hands, and

carried to Canton in chains, and Mr. C——k was soon after released.

It is the custom in China to exact a certain sum of money from all ships that come there according to their measurement, which is divided in first, second, and third rates ; I every day expected the *Hoppo* to come to measure my ship, but was given to understand that I must go up to Canton first, though even at the hazard of my life : I accordingly went, and stayed two days at the Cadogan's *factory*, during which time I was hourly alarmed by such stories as made me fear that I should (indisposed as I was) be dragged away off my bed, on the pretence, that it was one of my men who had killed the custom-house officer, though I, nor any belonging to me, knew nothing of the matter any farther than had been related to me. At the end of two days I was obliged to go down again to the ship to be present at the measurement, and a day afterwards the *Hoppo* came with a numerous retinue, and seemed to do his business very quietly, but would not let me know what he intended to exact. This gave me much trouble, for I began to think that the Chinese, through a false report of our great riches, had an intention to gratify their love of money at any rate.

I had not been here many days before I was deserted by all my officers and ship's company, who were continually employed in removing their effects from on board my ship, to some of the European, contrary to my knowledge, who was all the time confined to my sick bed. My officers were engaging the India gentlemen in their interest, and had left me and my son, with a few negroes to look after the ship, and defend my effects, which I thought on the brink of falling into the pit of the Chinese avarice. In short, my ship's company had so many ways of disposing of their

effects, that it was impossible to oblige them to do what I should have thought justice to the gentlemen in England, and to myself; in a word, they were all soon recovered of their illness by the assistance they met with, and were become their own masters; there was no magistrate to appeal to on the shore, that would have done me so much service as to have obliged them to keep to their own ship, and my brother-officers, commanding the English ships, could not, through fear of a misrepresentation of their actions to the India company by their supercargoes, afford me such help as, perhaps, they would have been enclined to, through a sense of their duty in complying with the tenour of my commission; but the gentlemen who presided over the trade so little regarded it, that they had half a mind to refuse me a passage in one of their ships, and, in effect, I was treated by them as one enemy would treat another in a neutral port, for as such they looked upon me for offering to come within the East-India Company's limits, without considering the necessities which forced me thither. The Captains Hill and Newsham, when they first came to see me, were astonished at the ruined appearance of my ship, and could scarce think it was possible she could have undertaken so long a stretch as from California hither; the rottenness of our cordage, and the raggedness of our sails, the bad state of the ship, and sickness of my ships company filled them, at first, with admiration and pity of my condition; insomuch, that at their first visit, when I had given them a short history of my voyage, and of the difficulties and hazards I had struggled with to obtain a passage, and desired they would receive me, my officers, and ship's company, with their effects, which I assured them were not inconsiderable, and would take up but little room, (which

I desired might be done as soon as possible for many reasons which I thought of weight enough to induce them to it) they answered, that since they plainly saw that my ship was in no condition to stir any farther, upon paying for our passages they would entertain us as soon as we pleased. This I depended upon, and expected no farther trouble than to remove ourselves at any time ; but, on the contrary, I found that I had, through ignorance, applyed to the wrong persons, for the supercargoes were angry that I had not sent up my story to them, who, when ashore, are the chief men, though they are only passengers when aboard, so that I was left neglected, and the English Captains ordered to fall down with their ships 5 or 6 miles below us. Thus was I left destitute in the company of five foreign ships, who seeing that my own countrymen were so careless of me, were so kind, as to offer me their service, and assisted me with what they could, and had it not been for them, I don't know but that I might have suffered to the last degree, for I was under perpetual alarms that the Chinese had a design to *chop* my ship, that is, seize her.

Soon after, the murder of the custom-house officer seemed to be accommodated, by having the criminal in their own possession, and by the revenge they thought fit to take on others. When every thing of that fact was hushed, there was an outrageous action committed by what they call a little *Mandarin*, who (it seems) at the beginning of these troubles had warrants given him to take all the English he should meet, which duty he neglected till all was well over ; but passing by the European *factories*, he ordered his attendance to seize on all the English they saw in the shops thereabouts, and accordingly they took nine or ten, as well French as English, and carryed them away with halters about their

necks, to the *Chantuck's* (or Viceroy of the Province his) palace in the city. Upon this there was application made to the *Hoppo*, who represented matters to the *Chantuck* in favour of the injured Europeans, whereupon the *Mandarin* who was guilty of this violence was sent for, who being unable to vidicate himself, was immediately degraded from his post, and stripped of the ensigns of his office, and (as they told us) was bambooed, which is a severe punishment used in most of the Eastern governments, and rendered for ever after incapable of acting again, and the Europeans directly discharged.

However, in the main, the English seem to me to be tyrannised over by the Chinese, and exposed to the caprices of every magistrate, which made me the more urgent to be on board one of the European ships, having good reason to fear, by reports, and their actual ill treatment of the English in general, that I, and my effects would fall a sacrifice to their immoderate love of money, since opportunities could not be wanting to them, who, in the night, might strip my abandoned ship, in which scarce any body but myself, (who could not stir out of my bed,) and my son took up their lodging; and to that purpose, finding my error in having applyed to the Captains, which had disgusted the supercargoes, and suggested to them an unreasonable cause to use me in a careless manner; I sent up a letter to them, not to desire, but to demand a passage for me, my officers, and ship's company, which I was sensible they could not refuse, and indeed they did not; but their condescension was accompanied with a charge to the India Captains not to receive any thing belonging to us, except it was consigned to the India Company in England. I think this article might as well have been kept in silence as declared; for it so far

enraged my people, that they vowed they would as soon throw what they had into the sea, as comply with such a demand; for my part, it gave me no concern, who was conscious to myself (and their officers, both of the trade and navigation, were fully convinced) that it was a thing impossible for me to have converted any of my silver into the commodities of the country, which I hoped they would represent to the East-India Company in such a light as to leave them no room to detain what I should consign on pretence of having infringed on their privileges any farther than having the misfortune to be driven into the limits of their commerce, without doing them the least prejudice; but at the same time that I was acquainted with this intention of receiving us as passengers, I was also informed of the *Hoppo's* demand for anchorage in the river. I had been long in suspence upon that head, and all a long apprehended that I should have some unusual exaction imposed upon me, and indeed so it happened, for they demanded 6000 tahel; and to quicken me in the payment of it, and to shew me they were in earnest, there was a penalty annexed to this extortion of 500 additional tahel for every day we failed in the payment; in short, there was no means by which I could evade this unconscionable imposition; in vain had I shewn the *Hoppo* my commission, which was also read in the Chinese tongue to him, and to as little purpose did I also remonstrate to him that I came with no other design than to obtain a passage home in one of our country ships, my own being uncapable of going farther. But, right or wrong, it was insisted upon; but it was a day before I could possibly send that sum up, for which they required 500 tahel for neglect of payment, so that they received from me 6500 tahel, which is 2166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *sterling*, which was about

six times as much as the *Cadogan* paid, who was the largest English ship there, and measured a third more than mine ; this was the more vexatious by as much as instead of receiving the benefits of the port, I had been every way oppressed ; however, before I quitted my ship I sold her for 2000 tahel, which money, and the rest of my effects were consigned to the India Company, and I prevailed with most of my officers, and ship's company, to take their passages in the English homeward bound ships.

Towards the latter end of *December* 1721, I sailed in the *Cadogan* commanded by Capt. John Hill. We made the Lands End in the latter part of *July* 1722, and on the 30th of *July* in the evening we anchored under Dungeness, and the same night some of the super-cargoes and passengers, and amongst the rest myself, hired a small vessel to carry us to Dover, where we arrived early the next morning, and the same day proceeded toward London, where we arrived on the 1st of *August* 1722.

Thus ended a long, fatiguing voyage of 3 years, 7 months and 11 days; after having sailed considerably more than round the circumference of the earth, and having undergone a great variety of inexpressible troubles and hardships both by land and sea.

REMARKS UPON SHELVOCKE'S DISHONESTY

By William Betagh

He sold the ship for about 650 pound ; but says, he paid twice that sum for port charges : And, as there is no minding what he says, it was certainly for his purpose when he writ the book, to lessen that money he sold his ship for, and to swell the sum he paid for anchorage. For why should he pay 2166 pound port charges, and Clipperton but 396, as Taylor's journal mentions, when we all know Shelvocke's was but a merchant ship, and Clipperton's a warlike ship, carrying forty guns and above three times the number of hands ! Add to this the amount of the *St. Fermin* and other prizes taken on the coast of Chili, which was at least 2000 pound, all shared as before, tho' not set down. Then lastly, the ship's cargo is unaccounted for, which he gently slips over, and forgets he ownd, it was a valuable one. This is intirely his own perquisit and pocket-money ; for as no soul but himself can now tell what that value was, or what he made of it : I can only remain an unhappy, ignorant, injured sufferer ; and wonder that so much baseness and treachery can appear, and yet live unpunisht.

From all which particulars it is evident Captain Shelvocke has secured to himself and brought to England a great sum of money, being neither his merit, nor his due : and tho' he is probably possest of much more than we can make out, yet even Stewart himself assured me, that Shelvocke could not be less than seven thousand pound gainer by the voyage.

Soon as Captain Shelvocke returned to London, he

waited on the gentleman, who framed and directed this expedition ; where being self-convicted of his past wicked actions, he hoped by a genteel donation to pacify the resentment he expected to meet with : but the said gentleman to whom he thus applyed, was rather shockt at the visit ; and instead of hearkening to any terms, charged a constable with him, and carryed him to the *cockpit*. The secretary of state being absent, he was there advised to take out an action against him at *Doctors commons*, and another at *Common law* at the owners suit ; with several processes against some of his people, who came home in the India ships with their ill gotten wealth. So that Captain Shelvocke was himself that day confined in *Wood-street Counter* ; and a few days after about a dozen of his crew, being all that yet appeared, were arrested also and confined.

After this the said owner applyed to the court of *Admiralty* for a warrant to keep Shelvocke in custody of the marshal, in order to be tryed for a pyracy on the Portuguese; for robberies on the King of Spain's subjects since the cessation of arms ; and lastly for defrauding his owners and people, affidavits having been made of these several facts by two of his own officers and others. But the court refused him a warrant, because it was not sworn that the witness saw the moydors taken out of the Portuguese Captain's scritore ; tho' they swore they were taken out of his possession and brought from the ship. This greatly disappointed the owners, and involved them in the tedious law suit which followed : for they found it difficult to lay the action at *Doctors commons*, being under the discouragement of the judge of that court : and the proceding at *Common law* was so intricate and doubtful, that they were forced to seek relief in the court of *Chancery*. Upon setting forth the case, the

Lord chancellor granted a writ of *Ne exeat regnum* against the said Shelvocke, markt 8000*l*, and some of his men in lesser sums: but Shelvocke getting bail to the action at common law, contrived so with the marshal of the king's bench prison, that he escaped on a *Sunday*, and prevented the said writ in chancery being served upon him; and has ever since absconded. Mean time the bill in chancery was carryed on, to which Shelvocke refusing to put in answer; a writ of rebellion was issued out: but a brother in law of Shelvocke's applyed to two of the owners, being complainants named in the bill, and so prevailed with them, that they pretended they were about a composition with the defendent: so that a sudden stop was made to the prosecution; except other of the owners would exhibit a fresh bill, and spend more money, having already laid out above 400 pound: which however was designed more to punish his unparalleled wickedness, than for any real prospect of advantage.

'Tis proper to insert here, that complaint was made to one of the principal secretaries of state by the Marquis de Pozzo Bueno ambassador from the King of Spain, while his Britannic Majesty was at Hanover; '*That on the* 11*th of* ' *April* 1721, *in the road of Sansonate on the coast of Mexico*, ' *George Shelvocke commander of an English privatier did then* ' *and there make prize a ship called the* Holy Family, *value* ' *one hundred thousand dollars, belonging to Don Lewis* ' *Carillo of Lima in Peru; altho' the said Shelvocke had* ' *notice given him of a cessation of arms agreed upon in the* ' *year* 1720, *between the Crowns of England and Spain, and* ' *published in those seas before the said capture.*'——I have seen a copy of this memorial, being writ in French, and sent to one of our owners; and here is now, or was a Spanish

agent in London to solicit the business. It is hard to know how this affair will be determined, now Great Britain and Spain are at such variance ; but if the court of Madrid comes quickly into terms, which looks not improbable, the government may still lay hold on Shelvocke for all his robberies.

THE END

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LAWRENCE, A. W., edited by

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Three records of heroic endurance, which were hitherto unobtainable at a reasonable price. In addition to the well-known stories of Bristow and Scurry, a soldier and a seaman, who were forcibly Mohammedanised and retained in the service of Mysore till their escape after ten years, extracts are given from an officer's diary of his close imprisonment at Seringapatam.

LAWRENCE, D. H.

TWILIGHT IN ITALY. Travel essays *No.* 19

This volume of travel vignettes in North Italy was first published in 1916. Since then Mr. Lawrence has increased the number of his admirers year by year. In *Twilight in Italy* they will find all the freshness and vigour of outlook which they have come to expect from its author.

LAWSON, Henry

WHILE THE BILLY BOILS. First Series *No.* 38

These stories are written by the O. Henry of Australia. They tell of men and dogs, of cities and plains, of gullies and ridges, of sorrow and happiness, and of the fundamental goodness that is hidden in the most unpromising of human soil.

WHILE THE BILLY BOILS. Second Series *No.* 39

Mr. Lawson has the uncanny knack of making the people he writes about almost violently alive. Whether he tells of jackeroos, bush children or drovers' wives, each one lingers in the memory long after we have closed the book.

LESLIE, Shane

THE END OF A CHAPTER *No.* 110

In this, his most famous book, Mr. Shane Leslie has preserved for future generations the essence of the pre-war epoch, its institutions and individuals. He writes of Eton, of the Empire, of Post-Victorianism, of the Politicians. . . . And whatever he touches upon, he brilliantly interprets.

LITHGOW, William

RARE ADVENTURES AND PAINEFULL PEREGRINATIONS (1582–1645). Edited and with Introduction by B. I. LAWRENCE *No.* 109

This is the book of a seventeenth-century Scotchman who walked over the Levant, North Africa and most of Europe, including Spain, where he was tortured by the Inquisition. An unscrupulous man, full of curiosity, his comments are diverting aad penetrating, his adventures remarkable.

LUBBOCK, Percy

EARLHAM. A portrait *No.* 6

'The book seems too intimate to be reviewed. We want to be allowed to read it, and to dream over it, and keep silence about it. His judgment is perfect, his humour is true and ready ; his touch light and prim ; his prose is exact and clean and full of music.' *Times*

ROMAN PICTURES. Studies *No.* 21

Pictures of life as it is lived – or has been or might be lived – among the pilgrims and colonists in Rome of more or less English speech. 'A book of whimsical originality and exquisite workmanship, and worthy of one of the best prose writers of our time.' *Sunday Times*

THE CRAFT OF FICTION. Critical essays *No.* 5

'No more substantial or more charming volume of criticism has been published in our time.' *Observer*

'To say that this is the best book on the subject is probably true ; but it is more to the point to say that it is the only one.' *Times Literary Supplement*

LYND, Robert

BOOKS AND AUTHORS. Critical essays *No.* 135

Critical essays on great writers of modern and other times. Among the modern writers we have appreciations of Mr. Max Beerbohm, Mr. Arnold Bennett and Mr. H. M. Tomlinson, while Herrick, Keats, Charles Lamb and Hawthorne are a few of the classical writers who are criticised in the book.

MACDONALD, The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay

WANDERINGS AND EXCURSIONS. Essays *No.* 132

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has been a wide traveller and reader, and has an uncommon power of bringing an individual eye – the eye of the artist – to bear upon whatever he sees.

MACHEN, Arthur

DOG AND DUCK. Essays *No.* 15

'As a literary artist, Mr. Arthur Machen has few living equals, and that is very far indeed from being his only, or even his greatest, claim on the suffrages of English readers.' *Sunday Times*

MASEFIELD, John

CAPTAIN MARGARET. A Novel *No.* 35

'His style is crisp, curt and vigorous. He has the Stevensonian sea-swagger, the Stevensonian sense of beauty and poetic spirit. Mr. Masefield's descriptions ring true and his characters carry conviction.' *The Observer*

MASON, Arthur

THE FLYING BO'SUN. A Tale *No.* 47

'What makes the book remarkable is the imaginative power which has re-created these events so vividly that even the supernatural ones come with the shock and the conviction with which actual supernatural events might come.' *From the Introduction by* EDWIN MUIR

WIDE SEAS AND MANY LANDS. Reminiscences.
With an Introduction by MAURICE BARING *No.* 7

'This is an extremely entertaining, and at the same time moving, book. We are in the presence of a born writer. We read with the same mixture of amazement and delight that fills us throughout a Conrad novel.' *New Statesman*

MAUGHAM, W. Somerset

LIZA OF LAMBETH. A Tale *No.* 141

Liza of Lambeth is W. Somerset Maugham's first novel, and its publication decided the whole course of his life. For if it had not succeeded its author could not have turned from medicine to letters, and his subsequent triumphs might never have been achieved. Originally published in 1897, it has since passed through eight editions before its present inclusion in the Travellers' Library. The story reflects much of the experience which Mr. Maugham gathered when he worked in the slums of the East End as a doctor.

MAUGHAM, W. Somerset

ON A CHINESE SCREEN. Sketches *No.* 31

A collection of sketches of life in China. Mr. Somerset Maugham writes with equal certainty and vigour whether his characters are Chinese or European. There is a tenderness and humour about the whole book which makes the reader turn eagerly to the next page for more.

THE CASUARINA TREE. Stories *No.* 92

Intensely dramatic stories in which the stain of the East falls deeply on the lives of English men and women. Mr. Maugham remains cruelly aloof from his characters. On passion and its culminating tragedy he looks with unmoved detachment, ringing the changes without comment and yet with little cynicism.

THE MOON AND SIXPENCE. A Novel *No.* 9

A remarkable picture of a genius.

'Mr. Maugham has given us a ruthless and penetrating study in personality with a savage truthfulness of delineation and an icy contempt for the heroic and the sentimental.' *The Times*

MENCKEN, H. L.

IN DEFENCE OF WOMEN *No.* 50

'All I design by the book is to set down in more or less plain form certain ideas that practically every civilised man and woman hold *in petto*, but that have been concealed hitherto by the vast mass of sentimentalities swathing the whole woman question.' *From the Author's Introduction*

SELECTED PREJUDICES. First Series. A Book of Essays *No.* 8

'He is exactly the kind of man we are needing, an iconoclast, a scoffer at ideals, a critic with whips and scorpions who does not hesitate to deal with literary, social and political humbugs in the one slashing fashion.' *English Review*

SELECTED PREJUDICES. Second Series *No.* 60

'What a master of the straight left in appreciation! Everybody who wishes to see how common sense about books and authors can be made exhilarating should acquire this delightful book.' *Morning Post*

MEYNELL, Alice

WAYFARING. Essays *No.* 133

'Her essays have the merit of saying just enough of the subject, and they can be read repeatedly. The surprise coming from that combined grace of manner and sanity of thought is like one's dream of what the recognition of a new truth would be.' Some of the essays so described by George Meredith are here collected in book-form for the first time.

MITCHISON, Naomi

CLOUD CUCKOO LAND. A Novel of Sparta *No.* 88

'Rich and frank in passions, and rich, too, in the detail which helps to make feigned life seemed real.' *Times Literary Supplement*

THE CONQUERED. A story of the Gauls under Cæsar *No.* 45

'With *The Conquered* Mrs. Mitchison establishes herself as the best, if not the only, English historical novelist now writing. It seems to me in many respects the most attractive and poignant historical novel I have ever read.' *New Statesman*

WHEN THE BOUGH BREAKS. Stories of the time when Rome was crumbling to ruin *No.* 46

'Interesting, delightful and fresh as morning dew. The connoisseur in short stories will turn to some pages in this volume again and again with renewed relish.' *Times Literary Supplement*

MONTAGU, Lady Mary Wortley

THE TRAVEL LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU. Edited by A. W. LAWRENCE *No.* 143

The famous account of Lady Mary's journey to the East in 1716, describing her visits to the German Courts and her residence in Constantinople. In the words of a review by Tobias Smollett: 'The publication of these *Letters* will be an immortal monument to the memory of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and will show, as long as the English language endures, the sprightliness of her wit, the solidity of her judgment, the elegance of her taste, and the excellence of her real character. These letters are so bewitchingly entertaining, that we defy the most phlegmatic man on earth to read one without going through with them.'

MOORE, George

CONFESSIONS OF A YOUNG MAN *No.* 76

'Mr. Moore, true to his period and to his genius, stripped himself of everything that might stand between him and the achievement of his artistic object. He does not ask you to admire this George Moore. He merely asks you to observe him beyond good and evil as a constant plucked from the bewildering flow of eternity.' *Humbert Wolfe*

MORLEY, Christopher

SAFETY PINS. Essays. With an Introduction by H.M. TOMLINSON *No.* 98

Very many readers will be glad of the opportunity to meet Mr Morley in the rôle of the gentle essayist. He is an author who is content to move among his fellows, to note, to reflect, and to write genially and urbanely ; to love words for their sound as well as for their value in expression of thought.

THUNDER ON THE LEFT. A Novel *No.* 90

'It is personal to every reader, it will become for every one a reflection of himself. I fancy that here, as always where work is fine and true, the author has created something not as he would but as he must, and is here an interpreter of a world more wonderful than he himself knows.' *Hugh Walpole*

WHERE THE BLUE BEGINS. A Fantasy *No.* 74

A delicious satirical fantasy in which humanity wears a dog-collar. 'Mr. Morley is a master of consequent inconsequence. His humour and irony are excellent, and his satire is only the more salient for the delicate and ingenuous fantasy in which it is set.' *Manchester Guardian*

MURRAY, Max

THE WORLD'S BACK DOORS. Adventures. With an Introduction by HECTOR BOLITHO *No.* 61

This book is not an account so much of places as of people. The journey round the world was begun with about enough money to buy one meal, and continued for 66,000 miles. There are periods as a longshore man and as a sailor, and a Chinese guard and a night watchman, and as a hobo.

MURRY, J. Middleton

THE EVOLUTION OF AN INTELLECTUAL *No. 62*

These essays were written during and immediately after the Great War. The author says that they record the painful stages by which he passed from the so-called intellectual state to the state of being what he now considers to be a reasonable man.

O'FLAHERTY, Liam

SPRING SOWING. Stories *No. 26*

'Nothing seems to escape Mr. O'Flaherty's eye ; his brain turns all things to drama ; and his vocabulary is like a river in spate. *Spring Sowing* is a book to buy, or to borrow, or, yes, to steal.' *Bookman*

THE BLACK SOUL. A Novel *No. 99*

'*The Black Soul* overwhelms one like a storm. . . . Nothing like it has been written by any Irish writer.' 'Æ' in *The Irish Statesman*

THE INFORMER. A Novel *No. 128*

This realistic novel of the Dublin underworld is generally conceded to be Mr. O'Flaherty's most outstanding book. It is to be produced as a film by British International Pictures, who regard it as one of the most ambitious of their efforts.

O'NEILL, Eugene

THE MOON OF THE CARIBBEES, AND OTHER PLAYS OF THE SEA. With an Introduction by ST. JOHN ERVINE *No. 116*

'Mr. O'Neill is immeasurably the most interesting man of letters that America has produced since the death of Walt Whitman.' *From the Introduction*

O'SHAUGHNESSY, Edith

VIENNESE MEDLEY. A Novel *No. 51*

'It is told with infinite tenderness, with many touches of grave or poignant humour, in a very beautiful book, which no lover of fiction should allow to pass unread. A book which sets its writer definitely in the first rank of living English novelists.' *Sunday Times*

PATER, Walter

MARIUS THE EPICUREAN *No. 23*

Walter Pater was at the same time a scholar of wide sympathies and a master of the English language. In this, his best-known work, he describes with rare delicacy of feeling and insight the religious and philosophic tendencies of the Roman Empire at the time of Antoninus Pius as they affected the mind and life of the story's hero.

THE RENAISSANCE *No. 63*

This English classic contains studies of those 'supreme artists' Michelangelo and Da Vinci, and of Botticelli, Della Robia, Mirandola, and others, who 'have a distinct faculty of their own by which they convey to us a peculiar quality of pleasure which we cannot get elsewhere.' There is no romance or subtlety in the work of these masters too fine for Pater to distinguish in superb English.

PICKTHALL, Marmaduke

ORIENTAL ENCOUNTERS *No. 103*

In *Oriental Encounters,* Mr. Pickthall relives his earlier manhood's discovery of Arabia and sympathetic encounters with the Eastern mind. He is one of the few travellers who really bridges the racial gulf.

POWELL, Sydney Walter

THE ADVENTURES OF A WANDERER *No. 64*

Throwing up a position in the Civil Service in Natal because he preferred movement and freedom to monotony and security, the author started his wanderings by enlisting in an Indian Ambulance Corps in the South African War. Afterwards he wandered all over the world.

POWYS, Llewelyn

BLACK LAUGHTER *No. 127*

Black Laughter is a kind of *Robinson Crusoe* of the continent of Africa. Indeed, Llewelyn Powys resembles Daniel Defoe in the startlingly realistic manner in which he conveys the actual feelings of the wild places he describes. You actually share the sensations of a sensitive and artistic nature suddenly transplanted from a peaceful English village into the heart of Africa.

RANSOME, Arthur

'RACUNDRA'S' FIRST CRUISE *No. 65*

This is the story of the building of an ideal yacht which would be a cruising boat that one man could manage if need be, but on which three people could live comfortably. The adventures of the cruise are skilfully and vividly told.

READE, Winwood

THE MARTYRDOM OF MAN *No. 66*

'Few sketches of universal history by one single author have been written. One book that has influenced me very strongly is *The Martyrdom of Man*. This "dates," as people say nowadays, and it has a fine gloom of its own ; but it is still an extraordinarily inspiring presentation of human history as one consistent process.' H. G. WELLS *in An Outline of History*

REYNOLDS, Stephen

A POOR MAN'S HOUSE *No. 93*

Vivid and intimate pictures of a Devonshire fisherman's life. 'Compact, harmonious, without a single – I won't say false – but uncertain note, true in aim, sentiment and expression, precise and imaginative, never precious, but containing here and there an absolutely priceless phrase. . . .' *Joseph Conrad*

RIESENBERG, Felix

SHIPMATES. Sea-faring portraits *No. 107*

A collection of intimate character-portraits of men with whom the author has sailed on many voyages. The sequence of studies blends into a fascinating panorama of living characters.

ROBERTS, Captain George

THE FOUR YEARS VOYAGES *No. 40*

The Manner of his being taken by Three Pyrate Ships which, after having plundered him, and detained him 10 Days, put him aboard his own Sloop, without Provisions, Water, etc.

The Hardships he endur'd for above 20 Days, 'till he arriv'd at the Island of St. Nicholas, from whence he was blown off to Sea ; and after Four Days of Difficulty and Distress, was Shipwreck'd on the Unfrequented Island of St. John, where, after he had remained near two Years, he built a Vessel to bring himself off.

ROBINSON, James Harvey

THE MIND IN THE MAKING. An Essay *No.* 9

'For me, I think James Harvey Robinson is going to be almost as important as was Huxley in my adolescence, and William James in later years. It is a cardinal book. I question whether in the long run people may not come to it, as making a new initiative into the world's thought and methods.' *From the Introduction by* H. G. WELLS

ROSEBERY, The Earl of

NAPOLEON: THE LAST PHASE *No.* 96

Of books and memoirs about Napoleon there is indeed no end, but of the veracious books such as this there are remarkably few. It aims to penetrate the deliberate darkness which surrounds the last act of the Napoleonic drama.

RUTHERFORD, Mark

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARK RUTHERFORD. With an Introduction by H. W. MASSINGHAM *No.* 67

Because of its honesty, delicacy and simplicity of portraiture, this book has always had a curious grip upon the affections of its readers. An English Amiel, inheriting to his comfort an English Old Crome landscape, he freed and strengthened his own spirit as he will his reader's.

THE DELIVERANCE *No.* 68

Once read, Hale White [Mark Rutherford] is never forgotten. But he is not yet approached through the highways of English letters. To the lover of his work, nothing can be more attractive than the pure and serene atmosphere of thought in which his art moves.

THE REVOLUTION IN TANNER'S LANE *No.* 69

'Since Bunyan, English Puritanism has produced one imaginative genius of the highest order. To my mind, our fiction contains no more perfectly drawn pictures of English life in its recurring emotional contrast of excitement and repose more valuable to the historian, or more stimulating to the imaginative reader.' *H. W. Massingham*

SHELVOCKE, Captain George

A PRIVATEER'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. With aspersions upon him by WILLIAM BETAGH. Edited by A. W. LAWRENCE *No.* 142

A book of 1726, well known as the source of the albatross incident and other passages in the 'Ancient Mariner' ; it describes the exploits of a private ship of war on the coasts of South America, its wreck on the Crusoe island off Juan Fernandez, and the subsequent adventures of its company in various parts of the Pacific.

Few among the true stories of the sea can rival this in psychological interest, because of the diverse villainies of captain and crew. Shelvocke was arrested on his return to England, for a successful conspiracy to defraud his owners of their due percentage of the profits, and he then wrote his book to defend his conduct.

SITWELL, Constance

FLOWERS AND ELEPHANTS. With an Introduction by E. M. FORSTER *No.* 115

Mrs. Sitwell has known India well, and has filled her pages with many vivid little pictures, and with sounds and scents. But it is the thread on which her impressions are strung that is so fascinating, a thread so delicate and rare that the slightest clumsiness in definition would snap it.

SMITH, Pauline

THE BEADLE. A Novel of South Africa *No.* 129

'A story of great beauty, and told with simplicity and tenderness that makes it linger in the memory. It is a notable contribution to the literature of the day.' *Morning Post*

THE LITTLE KAROO. Stories of South Africa. With an Introduction by ARNOLD BENNETT *No.* 104

'Nothing like this has been written about South African life since Olive Schreiner and her *Story of an African Farm* took the literary world by storm.' *The Daily Telegraph*

SQUIRE, J. C.

THE GRUB STREET NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS *No.* 102

Stories of literary life, told with a breath of fantasy and gaily ironic humour. Each character lives, and is the more lively for its touch of caricature. From *The Man Who Kept a Diary* to *The Man Who Wrote Free Verse*, these tales constitute Mr. Squire's most delightful ventures in fiction ; and the conception of the book itself is unique.

SULLIVAN, J. W. N.

ASPECTS OF SCIENCE. First Series *No.* 70

Although they deal with different aspects of various scientific ideas, the papers which make up this volume do illustrate, more or less, one point of view. This book tries to show one or two of the many reasons why science may be interesting for people who are not specialists as well as for those who are.

SYMONS, Arthur

PLAYS, ACTING AND MUSIC *No.* 113

This book deals mainly with music and with the various arts of the stage. Mr. Arthur Symons shows how each art has its own laws, its own limits ; these it is the business of the critic jealously to distinguish. Yet in the study of art as art it should be his endeavour to master the universal science of beauty.

WILLIAM BLAKE. A critical study *No.* 94

When Blake spoke the first word of the nineteenth century there was none to hear it ; and now that his message has penetrated the world, and is slowly remaking it, few are conscious of the man who first voiced it. This lack of knowledge is remedied in Mr. Symons's work.

TCHEKOFF, Anton

TWO PLAYS : *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Sea Gull.*
Translated by GEORGE CALDERON *No.* 33

Tchekoff had that fine comedic spirit which relishes the incongruity between the actual disorder of the world with the underlying order. He habitually mingled tragedy (which is life seen close at hand) with comedy (which is life seen at a distance). His plays are tragedies with the texture of comedy.

THOMAS, Edward

A LITERARY PILGRIM IN ENGLAND *No. 95*

A book about the homes and resorts of English writers, from John Aubrey, Cowper, Gilbert White, Cobbett, Wordsworth, Burns, Borrow and Lamb, to Swinburne, Stevenson, Meredith, W. H. Hudson and H. Belloc. Each chapter is a miniature biography and the same time a picture of the man and his work and environment.

THE POCKET BOOK OF POEMS AND SONGS FOR THE OPEN AIR *No. 97*

This anthology is meant to please those lovers of poetry and the country who like a book that can always lighten some of their burdens or give wings to their delight, whether in the open air by day, or under the roof at evening ; in it is gathered much of the finest English poetry.

TURGENEV, Ivan

FATHERS AND CHILDREN. Translated by CONSTANCE GARNETT *No. 83*

'As a piece of art *Fathers and Children* is the most powerful of all Turgenev's works. The figure of Bazarov is not only the political centre of the book, but a figure in which the eternal tragedy of man's impotence and insignificance is realised in scenes of a most ironical human drama.' *Edward Garnett*

ON THE EVE. Translated by CONSTANCE GARNETT *No. 82*

In his characters is something of the width and depth which so astounds us in the creations of Shakespeare. *On the Eve* is a quiet work, yet over which the growing consciousness of coming events casts its heavy shadow. Turgenev, even as he sketched the ripening love of a young girl, has made us feel the dawning aspirations of a nation.

SMOKE. Translated by CONSTANCE GARNETT *No. 84*

In this novel Turgenev sees and reflects, even in the shifting phases of political life, that which is universal in human nature. His work is compassionate, beautiful, unique ; in the sight of his fellow-craftsmen always marvellous and often perfect.

VERGA, Giovanni

MASTRO-DON GESUALDO. A Novel. Translated by D. H. LAWRENCE *No.* 71

Verga, who died in 1922, is recognised as one of the greatest of Italian writers of fiction. He can claim a place beside Hardy and the Russians. 'It is a fine full tale, a fine full picture of life, with a bold beauty of its own which Mr. Lawrence must have relished greatly as he translated it.' *Observer*

VOIGT, F. A.

COMBED OUT *No.* 122

This account of life in the army in 1917-18, both at home and in France, is written with a telling incisiveness. The author does not indulge in an unnecessary word, but packs in just the right details with an intensity of feeling that is infectious.

WATERS, W. G.

TRAVELLER'S JOY. An Anthology *No.* 106

This anthology has been selected for publication in the Travellers' Library from among the many collections of verse because of its suitability for the traveller, particularly the summer and autumn traveller, who would like to carry with him some store of literary provender.

WELLS, H. G.

CHRISTINA ALBERTA'S FATHER. A Novel *No.* 100

'At first reading the book is utterly beyond criticism; all the characters are delightfully genuine.' *Spectator*

'Brimming over with Wellsian insight, humour and invention. No one but Mr. Wells could have written the whole book and given it such verve and sparkle.' *Westminster Gazette*

THE DREAM. A Novel *No.* 20

'It is the richest, most generous and absorbing thing that Mr. Wells has given us for years and years.' *Daily News*

'I find this book as close to being magnificent as any book that I have ever read. It is full of inspiration and life.' *Daily Graphic*

WHARTON, Edith

IN MOROCCO *No.* 41

Morocco is a land of mists and mysteries, of trailing silver veils through which minarets, mighty towers, hot palm groves and Atlas snows peer and disappear at the will of the Atlantic cloud-drifts.

ITALIAN BACKGROUNDS *No.* 114

Mrs. Wharton's perception of beauty and her grace of writing are matters of general acceptance. Her book gives us pictures of mountains and rivers, monks, nuns and saints.

WITHERS, Percy

FRIENDS IN SOLITUDE. With an Introduction by LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE *No.* 131

Percy Withers, who lived for many years in the Lake Country, has his own experiences to relate ; but in seeking to widen them and to give them more vivid expression, he selects certain of the dale folk, his friends and companions, to tell in their own fashion so much the manner of men they are, so much of their life-story, of its prosperities, endurances, pathos, its reactions and responses to the outward circumstances as may make the picture more complete and give to it a more human significance.

YOUNG, E. H.

THE MISSES MALLETT. A Novel *No.* 72

The virtue of this quiet and accomplished piece of writing lies in its quality and in its character-drawing ; to summarise it would be to give no idea of its charm. Neither realism nor romance, it is a book by a writer of insight and sensibility.

WILLIAM. A Novel *No.* 27

'An extraordinary good book, penetrating and beautiful.' *Allan Monkhouse*

'All its characters are very real and alive, and William himself is a masterpiece.' *May Sinclair*

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